

Community charge reform is key to challenger's strategy to win back Conservative voters

Heseltine flings down gauntlet for leadership

By ROBIN OAKLEY AND PHILIP WEBSTER

MICHAEL Heseltine finally announced yesterday that he was to challenge the prime minister for the leadership of the Conservative party, and immediately wooed worried MPs by promising to reform the poll tax.

The former defence secretary initiated the most serious battle in Tory ranks since 1975, saying he had a better prospect than Margaret Thatcher of winning back lost Conservative voters.

His plans for the poll tax, outlined in an interview with *The Times*, would involve building in the principle of ability to pay, and might shift education spending to central government.

In the interview, Mr Heseltine complained that Mrs Thatcher had allowed the Conservative party in Parliament to become divided and he appealed to both ends of the party, saying: "I believe in people of talent and energy finding opportunity regardless of the philosophical input they give to debate. The responsibilities of leadership are to blend this fusion of talents, to harness it and enthuse it rather than to exploit it."

Three Surrey detectives involved in investigating the Guildford four are to be prosecuted for conspiracy to pervert the course of justice, the DPP announced.

Up to a dozen current and former officers were named in a report sent to the DPP some weeks ago by a team of Avon and Somerset officers investigating the case. Page 28

Muggeridge dies



The Roman Catholic Church's most celebrated convert of the last decade, Malcolm Muggeridge, has died at the age of 87. Page 4

Lifetime love, Page 16

Obituary, Page 18

Kidnap ordeal

A girl aged seven, left for dead by an unemployed labourer who kidnapped her as she roller skated home and sexually assaulted her at a South Downs beauty spot, survived the ordeal and raised the alarm. Lewes Crown Court was told. Page 7

Clean-up plea

Australian MPs are to urge Britain to contribute towards a new clean-up of nuclear test sites after a detailed study of contamination. Page 10

Border pact

Germany and Poland ended more than 40 years of political feuding by recognising the Oder-Neisse line as the common frontier. Page 12

BA profits up

British Airways reported a £61 million profit jump but warned it is planning "radical steps" to reduce costs. Page 29

Rough times, Page 7

England draw

The Republic of Ireland and England drew 1-1 in their European championship qualifying match at Lansdowne Road. Page 42

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he spoke, there was a growing feeling at Westminster that Mrs Thatcher would find it hard to win on the first ballot next Tuesday. Although her supporters maintained that she would stay to fight the second round if necessary, MPs on all wings of the party felt that a failure to secure victory in the first vote might irretrievably damage her authority and lead to her standing down. Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, was emerging as the candidate who would then be pressed forward to prevent Mr Heseltine taking the crown.

Mr Hurd repeated yesterday that he could not see the circumstances in which he could come forward. However, if Mrs Thatcher was not in the field he would inevitably be pressed to throw his hat into the ring, and most MPs believe he would agree that there would be many abstentions among those who believe that Mrs Thatcher is too damaged to take the Conservatives into the election, and would prefer Mr Hurd to Mr Heseltine.

Mr Heseltine's campaign team yesterday reported an increase in support for him since Sir Geoffrey Howe's resignation speech on Tuesday. They are predicting "well over" 100 positive votes for him. He would require 159 votes to be certain of forcing a second ballot.

The battleground for the contest will be Europe, but the key point with Tory MPs may be his declaration that if he became prime minister, he would order an "immediate and fundamental review of the poll tax". Mr Heseltine's opponents acknowledged that this promise was a shrewd stroke, fully justified by his long-held opposition to it and his absence from the cabinet that brought it in.

Announcing his decision to stand from his home in Belgrave yesterday, Mr Heseltine denied that a challenge would damage the party's general election aims. "I do not accept I have split the Conservative Party," Geoffrey Howe's resignation revealed

divisions which would not go away without a contest of this sort." But he declared that if Mrs Thatcher was to emerge victorious and to lead the Tories into the next election he would back her to the hilt. "I would rather have a cabinet run by Mrs Thatcher than a government dominated by the influence of the trade unions."

Throughout the day, senior Conservatives rallied to Mrs Thatcher's cause. Mr Hurd called Mr Heseltine's challenge "a mistake" - from the point of view of the government, the party and the country. Lord Whitelaw, the former deputy prime minister, said: "I believe profoundly that at this time our country badly needs her courageous, determined leadership as prime minister."

Support for Mr Heseltine came from Sir Barney Hayhoe, MP for Brentford and Isleworth, who said: "It is becoming increasingly difficult to envisage how the party could truly unite behind Margaret Thatcher, although I am convinced that unity will be achieved under a new leader." John Lee, MP for Pendle, said it was time for a new leader and a fresh start.

Media menagerie stalks elusive prey

By ADAM HAMILTON

HARDLY anyone noticed the Princess Royal drive through Belgrave at 10.45 yesterday morning on her way to an engagement in Belgrave Square. All attention was on the vast menagerie of bears and monkeys (reporters and photographers) and other media animals jockeying for a foot on a doorstep to catch any whisper of the alternative palace revolution.

Straws floated early in the morning wind. At 8.37am Michael Mates, MP, arrived chez Heseltine and was asked by the menagerie if he was



confident. Confident about what they did not say. Mr Mates, who has clearly visited 2005 before, announced he was confident of getting a decent breakfast, picked up the Heseltine's copy of *The Times* with its portentous headline containing the words "Howe", "attack" and "gaps", from the doorstep, and disappeared within.

PC Paul Donaghy, who looked about 12 but is in fact 22, maintained a solitary but good-humoured guard on the door. He seemed happier with his day's assignment than he would have been policing a Millwall home game.

Not much then happened - except, presumably, for breakfast - until soon after ten, when the favoured political correspondents of radio, television and the Press Association arrived in response to an invitation to receive the breathless word in the Heseltine's first floor sitting room. Mr Mates then reappeared to address the unfavourable multitude on the pavement. "He is not going out this morning. There will be an announcement shortly. He is very busy with the statement." Continued on page 28, col 6

Pressure on Israel to attack

From RICHARD OWEN, JERUSALEM

FEARS are growing in Israel that the prolonged Gulf confrontation is not only making Israel vulnerable to an Iraqi missile attack as President Saddam Hussein is "backed into a corner" but is also leading to a crumbling of Israel's previously secure borders with Jordan and southern Lebanon.

These pressures could push Israeli leaders towards contingency plans for a strike against Iraq if the United States fails to act decisively or if the Middle East balance appears to be tilting irrevocably against Israel.

Israeli military officials said hesitations by the US meant war against Iraq was unlikely until the end of December at the earliest. But war could be triggered by a "miscalculation", leaving Israel to cope with a chemical weapons attack as President Saddam attempted to turn the conflict into an Arab-Israeli one.

Officials believe Iraq has Continued on page 28, col 2

Gorbachev 'has lost the support of his army'

From MARY DEEVSKY IN MOSCOW

THE Soviet power structure appeared in tatters last night after parliamentary deputies forced an emergency debate on the state of the country, and a military officer said President Gorbachev had lost the support of the army. Mr Gorbachev will address parliament tomorrow in an attempt to avert the crisis.

Adding to the confusion, an open letter from 22 respected figures predicted civil war unless the president took "firm and urgent measures" to avert it, and the government announced price rises on a range of what it classified as non-essential goods to take effect from today.

Lieutenant-Colonel Viktor Alksnis, who had attended a meeting on Tuesday between Mr Gorbachev and more than 1,000 military men, told amazed parliamentary deputies that the president's appearance had been "a dialogue of the blind with the blind". The president, he said, "yesterday lost his army".

Lieutenant-Colonel Alksnis ruled out the possibility of a coup, saying the military lacked a leader, and predicted that the army would resort to force first in the republics.

Lieutenant-Colonel Alksnis's views were echoed by Marshal Sergei Akhromyev, the retired chief of staff and now a military adviser to President Gorbachev, who said in a newspaper article that the army would fight to save socialism and prevent the disintegration of the country.

Lieutenant-Colonel Alksnis addressed a parliament already in disarray and a resented mood. Deputies had returned from a 10-day recess during which they had been bombarded with complaints about shortages and the breakdown of authority. They had returned to find that the scheduled discussion of next year's plan and budget had

been postponed until next week and that Mr Gorbachev had no plans to tell them about his meeting with Boris Yeltsin, the Russian Federation president, even though Mr Yeltsin had given the Russian parliament his version the day before.

There were angry calls for Mr Gorbachev to appear and give an explanation. Many demanded an emergency debate on the "state of the nation" in view of the "impending catastrophe".

The same language of desperation peppered yesterday's "open letter" to the president by 22 respected public figures who are on the editorial board of the weekly *Moscow News*. They included

the economists Oleg Bogomolov and Pavel Bunich, the democratic parliamentarian Galina Starovoitova, and the Democratic Platform leader, Vyacheslav Shostakovskiy.

Their letter warned of the catastrophe facing the country and said that the only way to avoid it was to introduce total glasnost; to make the Soviet Union's 15 republics genuinely sovereign; to return the land to the peasants and disband unviable collective farms and replace the government with a "round table" coalition of national unity.

Yesterday's announcement of price increases covers goods described as "luxuries".

Arms treaty, page 13

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Scarborough returns to electronic dark ages

By PETER DAVENPORT

EVEN for an out-of-season Yorkshire seaside resort, Scarborough was unusually quiet yesterday. There was not the ring of a telephone, the chatter of a telex nor the hum of a facsimile machine to be heard. A big fire in an automatic telephone exchange led to the failure of all 23,000 lines in the town, including all emergency services, the coastguard and the public utilities.

In a few devastating minutes Scarborough regressed from an era of instant communications to the electronic dark ages. The town of 70,000 people was effectively cut off from the outside world, leaving emergency planners having to introduce a makeshift system of communication to shift system of communication to shift together the fabric of everyday life. It may be a week before normal

service can be restored, although it is hoped to reinstate 999 calls sooner.

The communications failure was more comprehensive than that caused by local authority emergency planning. A document entitled *Scheme for Major Penetration Disasters or Other Emergencies* produced by Scarborough Council as part of its statutory duties in 1987 will have to be rewritten and the lessons passed on to other local authorities.

Make-shift measures were hurriedly introduced by police and council planners who initially had to communicate with human runners between their headquarters. A rota of civic cars, including the mayoral Jaguar, was posted to Oliver's Mount, the highest point in the town, where a mobile phone could be used to relay urgent messages by two-way radio.

Scarborough is a poor reception area and mobile telephone users have to seek high ground. Yesterday many of those people were parked on Oliver's Mount conducting business from their driving seat.

Police, fire service and ambulance vehicles were positioned at 21 fixed points and their locations broadcast so that people would know where to run for help. The council's fleet of refuse vehicles were recruited. Their crews were ordered to make their radios available for emergencies and the hospital cancelled all non-urgent operations to clear beds for cases who could not contact GPs.

Even the voice-link from the council's emergency planning room to County Hall in Northallerton, to be used in the event of war, failed. Some bank cash machines were knocked out

and computer systems linked to the BT network failed.

The fire, believed to have been caused by an electrical fault, destroyed digital processing equipment which handles 12 million calls a year. It was installed seven years ago as part of £3million improvements at the Northway telephone exchange.

John Trebble, Scarborough council's chief executive, said: "It is amazing how you come to rely on a telephone system and take it for granted. Then something like this happens and you realise just how vulnerable you can become. We have to strive to avoid putting all our equipment into one location. British Telecom need to centralise but there should be some capacity to avoid a crisis like this. It can happen here, it can happen anywhere."

The question over Thatcher: can she lead party to victory?

By ROBIN OAKLEY, POLITICAL EDITOR

THE essence of Michael Heseltine's case is that he is a winner and Mrs Thatcher is now a loser, that he can take the Conservative party to victory in the next election and she cannot.

It is a particularly bold claim to make against a prime minister who has fought three elections and won them all. He is demanding that she should be denied the chance of trying again to confirm that record before she is deposed. Mr Heseltine is being both honest and sensible, however, in pitching his case in those terms. For all the fuss about Europe, this contest will not be decided on policy points.

Members of the cabinet confirm that Mrs Thatcher is now the issue. Winnability not ideology is the basis of

Mr Heseltine's window display. That is why he is concentrating on the poll tax, which is seen by many Tory MPs as the single biggest obstacle to their retaining their seats at the next election.

The question is whether the prime minister has now become a hindrance to her party's hopes of turning round Labour's big opinion poll lead and winning the next election. She will remember that it was not a surge of enthusiasm for what later came to be known as Thatcherism — monetarism, privatisation and popular capitalism — which brought her victory against Edward Heath in 1975. It was the feeling in the party, after two rejections by the electorate, that she was a loser and that a new face was needed at the top.

What does that last Tory leadership

contest tell us about the way this one will be fought? First, that surprises do happen. A Harris opinion poll on February 3, 1975, the day before the first ballot, showed that seven out of ten Conservative voters were in favour of Mr Heath and that Mrs Thatcher trailed behind William Whitelaw too, even though he was not standing in that first round. The unctuous National Union had reported that four fifths of the constituencies wanted Mr Heath to stay on, but MPs gave her 130 votes and him 119. With 16 for Sir Hugh Fraser that meant that more than half had voted against Mr Heath and he was done for.

Second, the contest showed the danger of playing bandwagon tactics. Mr Heath's campaign team spread the word that he would win comfortably on

the first ballot, seeking to pull waverers aboard for the sake of being on the winning side. As a result, the former members of his government who wanted a change but who planned to vote for Mr Heath to ensure that he had a respectable vote were emboldened to switch. Those who wanted to be rid of him but were not too keen on what they then knew of Josephite/Thatcherite policies believed that he was heading for first-round victory before they could get their chosen champions into the contest. So they voted for Mrs Thatcher.

Another lesson is that elections never turn out to be as clean as the participants promise. There is no reason to believe that the Tory machine had anything to do with the character assassination journalism already being

practised against Thatcher opponents. Indeed, Mrs Thatcher has specifically condemned it.

She remembers only too well, no doubt, the "greedy food-hoarder" play made last time over her advice to pensioners to stock plenty of tinned food in a time of inflation, and the sneering at the temerity of a grocer's daughter with a second-class degree in chemistry thinking that she might lead a great party.

As the challenger, Mr Heseltine has one great advantage this time that Mrs Thatcher did not have in 1975. When she said "I am trying to represent the deep feelings of those many thousands of rank-and-file Tories in the country — and potential Conservative voters too — who feel let down by our party and find

themselves unrepresented in a political vacuum" it could legitimately be asked why she had not walked out of the cabinet that had done that letting down and created that vacuum.

Mr Heseltine, however, did walk out. He did warn about her style of cabinet government.

What Mrs Thatcher has to decide now is whether to play things soft on Europe in the hope of anchoring the waverers who might otherwise drift off to Mr Heseltine, or whether to continue her post-Rome rhetoric in the hope of maximising the support in her natural constituency within the party.

For her it has to be cool, calm business as usual. Whether that is enough in these feverish times we shall see in a few days.

Heseltine pledges early poll tax review if he wins

By DOUGLAS BROOM, LOCAL GOVERNMENT CORRESPONDENT

MICHAEL Heseltine yesterday committed himself to carrying out an immediate and fundamental review of the community charge if he becomes leader of the Conservative party.

A key part of his reforms would be the introduction of a system of "banding" under which the rich would pay more and the poor much less in poll tax. Mr Heseltine is on record as saying that the wealthy, in particular higher rate taxpayers, "those who have prospered mightily under this government", must contribute more towards the cost of local services.

He also wants to see changes in the distribution of government grant to local authorities in order to iron out regional variations in poll tax.

Interviewed on *The World at One* on BBC Radio 4 yesterday, Mr Heseltine suggested that education might be taken out of the control of

local authorities and funded largely from Whitehall in an effort to keep poll tax bills down. Much of the work on Mr Heseltine's plans has already been done by his own supporters and officials at the environment department.

In 1988 Michael Mates, one of his close associates, tabled an amendment to the Local Government Finance Act which would have introduced banding of bills according to ability to pay.

In order to provide ministers with the ammunition to defeat the amendment in the Commons, senior civil servants prepared an exhaustive evaluation of the scheme, which would be available to Mr Heseltine.

The department also looked into changes in the method used to calculate standard spending assessments for councils, which form the basis of grant distribution, as part of this year's poll tax review. The

poll tax has long been a key concern of the former defence secretary, who regards it as one of the biggest threats to the survival of a Conservative government.

He has urged that councils who wish to spend above government limits should be required to stand for re-election on their spending plans and has called for more help for people whose poll tax bills are significantly higher than their rates.

In May Mr Heseltine said that the government must work to lower average poll tax bills. High community charges would only bolster Labour's fortunes and its campaign for a return to rates.

There is, however, some scepticism in local government circles about the workability of his proposals. One senior financial officer said last night: "Banding looks good but in practice it is a nightmare."

"You need to involve the Inland Revenue to determine who can afford to pay and even when you have done that there will be massive leaps between bands, each one of which will create its own poverty trap."

Without a commitment to return control of business rates to councils, many treasurers believe that Mr Heseltine's reforms would not ease the burden on poll tax payers.

How the winner is chosen

Nominations for the Tory leadership contest close at noon today, with voting taking place by secret ballot in a committee room of the House of Commons next Tuesday.

On the first ballot a winning candidate must receive a majority of the 372 MPs entitled to vote plus 15 per cent more than any other candidate. A winner must, therefore, receive 187 votes of those entitled to vote combined with a 56-vote lead, 15 per cent of those entitled to vote.

If the votes given to a challenger plus those abstaining amount to 159, Mrs Thatcher would fail to win on the first round. The contest would then move to a second round. Nominations from the first round become valid and others can enter the fray with nominations closing on November 22 and voting on November 27. On the second ballot, a candidate must obtain an overall majority of those entitled to vote that is at least 187 votes.

If nobody manages victory on the second ballot, the three highest placed candidates go to a third ballot on November 29th.

Thirteen-month countdown to fight for MPs' hearts

By RICHARD FORD, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

MICHAEL Heseltine's challenge for the Conservative party leadership comes after 13 months in which five cabinet ministers have resigned and amid growing gloom on the back benches about Tory prospects at the next general election.

Labour's lead in the opinion polls and doubts about whether the economy will improve early enough to revive Tory fortunes have deepened the despondency. Although Mrs Thatcher's supporters hoped her convincing victory against Sir Anthony Meyer in last year's contest would end speculation about her leadership, it has continued.

In the wings hovered one man, Mr Heseltine. Repeatedly emphasising that he could see no circumstances in which he would challenge the prime minister for the leadership, he assiduously cultivated backbench MPs and calculated his chances of succeeding Mrs Thatcher.

Most MPs thought it unlikely that Mr Heseltine would mount a serious challenge. However, the latest resignation from the government galvanised Mr Heseltine and his campaign team into reassessing their prospects.

The troubled 13 months began with the resignation of Nigel Lawson as Chancellor of the Exchequer in October last year. Several weeks later Mrs Thatcher beat Sir Anthony strengthening her authority

"for some time to come", according to George Younger, her campaign manager.

In January Norman Fowler resigned as employment secretary so that he could spend more time with his young daughters and in March it was announced that Peter Walker, the Welsh secretary, was to leave the cabinet.

Later that month there was renewed speculation about Mrs Thatcher's leadership after Labour overturned a 14,654 Conservative majority by-election. Ministers rallied to support the prime minister after opinion polls showed Labour enjoying a record lead.

In the summer the prime minister had to accept the resignation of Nicholas Ridley, the trade and industry secretary, after he had accused Germany of trying to take over Europe. The Tories suffered a further blow when they lost the safe seat of Eastbourne. The party was braced for a poor showing in by-elections at Boreham and Bradford North when, on November 1, Sir Geoffrey Howe quit the government in protest at the prime minister's attitude to the European Community.

On Tuesday Sir Geoffrey delivered a damning indictment on Mrs Thatcher's policy towards Europe and style of government. The savage attack was the catalyst that triggered Mr Heseltine into standing for the leadership.



Margaret Thatcher smiling yesterday after Michael Heseltine's formal challenge

Younger primes his team

By RICHARD FORD, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

JUST six days ago George Younger indicated that his business commitments would make it very difficult for him to run a campaign to ensure Margaret Thatcher's re-election as leader of the Conservative party. Over the weekend, however, as the likelihood of a contest increased, Mr Younger was persuaded to change his mind.

Mr Younger, a former defence secretary who is chairman of the Royal Bank of Scotland, is to co-ordinate Mrs Thatcher's campaign team. Her choice is likely to have been influenced by his effort last year when he successfully ran her campaign against Sir Anthony Meyer.

Widely respected at Westminster as a man who plays a "straight bat", he has already admitted that his team has a lot of work to do.

In that team are Norman Tebbit, a former chairman of the party, John Moore, who was dismissed as social security secretary by Mrs Thatcher, and Michael Jopling, a former chief whip.

The inclusion of Mr Tebbit and Mr Moore was seen at Westminster as an attempt by the prime minister to ensure the allegiance of traditional allies on the right of the party that Mr Heseltine has been courting in recent months.

Others at Westminster questioned the involvement of both men. Mr Tebbit was said to be too divisive, and Mr

Moore too minor a figure in the party. As a former chief whip, Mr Jopling, the Conservative MP for Westmorland and Lonsdale, joins Mr Younger in offering solid reassurance to the party.

Within hours of Mr Heseltine's announcement, cabinet ministers offered their support for the prime minister. Yesterday Douglas Hurd, John Major, John Wakeham and Michael Howard publicly backed her.

During the next few days cabinet ministers will meet small groups of backbenchers hoping to ensure that they back the prime minister. Her team will stress her stature as an international statesman and the danger of changing leaders when there is the threat of conflict in the Gulf.



Campaign line-up: Younger, Tebbit, and Hurd

Contest 'inevitable' since Westland

By PHILIP WEBSTER, CHIEF POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

MICHAEL Heseltine may have pressed the go button only yesterday but a well-oiled machine has been in place for several years in readiness for the moment he chose to open his leadership campaign.

Norman Tebbit, his arch opponent in that venture, said yesterday that the challenge now under way was inevitable from the day he walked out of the cabinet over the Westland affair. It has seemed that way to most of Westminster.

Although activity has increased to a frenzied pace in recent days, suggestions of a sudden head-counting exercise beginning only last weekend are wide of the mark. The Heseltine camp has over the past couple of years been told by about 80 MPs that they would back him in a leadership contest. Since Sir Geoffrey Howe's resignation Mr Heseltine's team has been checking that those votes can still be counted upon, and attempting to add to the tally.

Aware of the dangers of raising expectations too high, Michael Mates, in charge of the nuts and bolts of the campaign, has been cautious in his predictions. All the signs were, however, that the initial forecast of 100 pledged votes was being steadily enlarged yesterday.

Over the next few days a series of former cabinet ministers are likely to publicly back Mr Heseltine, his supporters said yesterday, and David Howell, chairman of the all-party foreign affairs committee and the former energy secretary, indicated his support.

Mr Mates, known by MPs as "The Colonel", and Keith Hampson, MP for Leeds North West, are the two figures most commonly associated with the Heseltine campaign. One of his key advisers over recent years however has been Sir Neil Macfarlane, the

former sports minister who served with him at the environment department.

Ironically Sir Neil was one of the late Airey Neave's lieutenants in the team that successfully propelled Margaret Thatcher to the leadership in 1975. Now he finds himself in the opposite camp, and says: "I only wish we did not have to have this campaign. The outstanding service the prime minister has given the party and country is well recognised."

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Heseltine's men: Mates, Hampson and Macfarlane

Bruising contest elicits cries of 'foul'

By JAMIE DETTMER

BACKBENCH MPs are generally far from being shrinking violets but the recent rough-house tactics employed by supporters of Margaret Thatcher to try to see off a possible leadership challenge from Michael Heseltine has shocked many of them.

There have already been three incidents that have led to cries of foul from the Heseltine camp.

Over a week ago senior officers from Mr Heseltine's Henley constituency were persuaded by a regional party agent that it was important for them to reply to their MP's open letter about the resignation of Sir Geoffrey Howe.

Even before the officers met

to draft a reply in the presence of the agent, Donald Stringer, several journalists received telephone calls from Conservative Central Office suggesting that Mr Heseltine was going to be rebuked by his local party. Shortly after the reply was drafted, two members of Mr Heseltine's constituency who opposed any leadership challenge rang political correspondents to give a version of the meeting that was at odds with the recollection of their local colleagues.

Conservative Central Office yesterday declined to answer questions about what has become known as Henleygate.

Two other incidents bordering on a dirty tricks campaign

came in the form of personal attacks in tabloid newspapers on MPs opposed to Mrs Thatcher. Last weekend the *Daily Express* disclosed several personal details about the complicated private life of Tony Marlow, MP for Northampton North, after he called for Mrs Thatcher to step down. On Tuesday *The Sun* followed up with a front page devoted to rubbing in the parlance of tabloid newspapers, five MPs said to support Mr Heseltine.

Most backbenchers believe that the two press assaults sprung from an over-zealous wish to protect the prime minister. Mrs Thatcher condemned *The Sun's* coverage in

the Commons. Yesterday, central office said of its role during the leadership challenge: "We become neutral from this moment on."

Asked if that meant it had not been neutral last week and earlier this week, a spokesman said: "Of course not. There are now two campaign teams and offices. Do you want our team's number? Our's? Yes, you know, Mrs Thatcher's."

Reply to The Times (p. 2) Mr Heseltine's campaign team has received a number of letters from MPs and the public. The team is grateful for the support and will continue to work hard to ensure that the party's interests are protected. The team is also aware of the need to maintain the highest standards of conduct and will take any allegations of foul play seriously.

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RAISING INTEREST

مكتبة القرآن

Officials...
to Thatche...
in margin...

Mixed reaction...
at home base

Mocked...
caution

Officials stay loyal to Thatcher, even in marginal seats

By STAFF REPORTERS

CONFIRMATION of a leadership battle was met with a mixture of relief and irritation by party workers in Conservative marginal seats, where a percentage point change in the polls is closely monitored.

Even where the Tories have been under strong pressure from the impact of the poll tax, loyalty to the party leader prevailed. In York, where Conal Gregory clings on to his seat by a mere 147 votes, John Hardwick, the constituency party chairman, said the members remain committed to Margaret Thatcher's leadership. "We would not be happy with Michael Heseltine and do feel this is all rather damaging and divisive. We are 100 per cent behind the prime minister," he said.

Jim Cooper, chairman at Chester, where a swing of 4.6 percentage points would dislodge Peter Morrison, the prime minister's parliamentary private secretary, puts his faith in the short time span of political memories. "While it is easy to criticise because of the damage it might do to the party, it always surprises me how quickly things are forgotten in politics. In four or five months it will be over and done with; maybe for that reason, it is a good idea it is happening now."

He added: "If Michael Heseltine loses, as I think he

will, I presume he can no longer sit in the background as his apparent. He has many qualities and has been promoting himself for some time, so it is a good idea that we can now clear the air."

In Darlington, where Michael Fallon, the education minister, has a majority of 2,661 and would be among a dozen Conservative MPs who would be defeated by a swing of 3 percentage points, the local party is backing Mrs Thatcher. Bill Smith, chairman, is clearly annoyed at Sir Geoffrey Howe's attack but believes Mrs Thatcher is quite capable of winning the battle.

"She is a fighter as we all know, and I cannot see her giving up very easily. A win would probably help her personal standing and certainly I have had no calls from anyone saying we should switch and back Heseltine."

"He has brains, money, intelligence, all the attributes necessary, yet he is known for throwing tantrums and I wonder if there is something there that we might not want in a prime minister."

In Bolton North East, which the Conservatives hold by 813 votes, there was "wholehearted support" for Mrs Thatcher and no criticism of her style or the strategy the government was following under her leadership. A party

officer said: "There is no doubt that some constituents who were historically paying £80 a year in rates got quite a shock, but there has been transitional relief and no one can demur from the principle that people who consume services should pay for them. But somewhere along the line the point is being missed that over-spending by Labour councils has to be controlled."

Michael Horn, Conservative agent and manager in Ellesmere Port and Neston, said that the constituency officers were not at all happy about the approaching contest. The general feeling was that Sir Geoffrey had not been judicious in his way of settling a difference of opinion.

Mr Horn was not impressed by Mr Heseltine's assurance that he would make changes to the community charge an early priority. "On the hypothetical chance of him winning the contest, he would still have the same problem of dealing with local councils and county councils that are controlled by Labour, the Liberal Democrats or are hung councils; councils that over-spend and are profligate."

He added: "It is bad to change the captains in mid-stream. Mrs Thatcher has been proved right on most issues. Her style of man management may not be as good as it could be, but she can't be good at everything."

In Lancashire West, where the Conservatives hold a 1,600 majority, party officials are recording reaction towards Mr Heseltine's challenge by telephone calls received at party headquarters. Non-party members sympathetic towards the Conservatives were evenly divided between the prime minister and Mr Heseltine, but party officials and members were 100 per cent behind Mrs Thatcher.

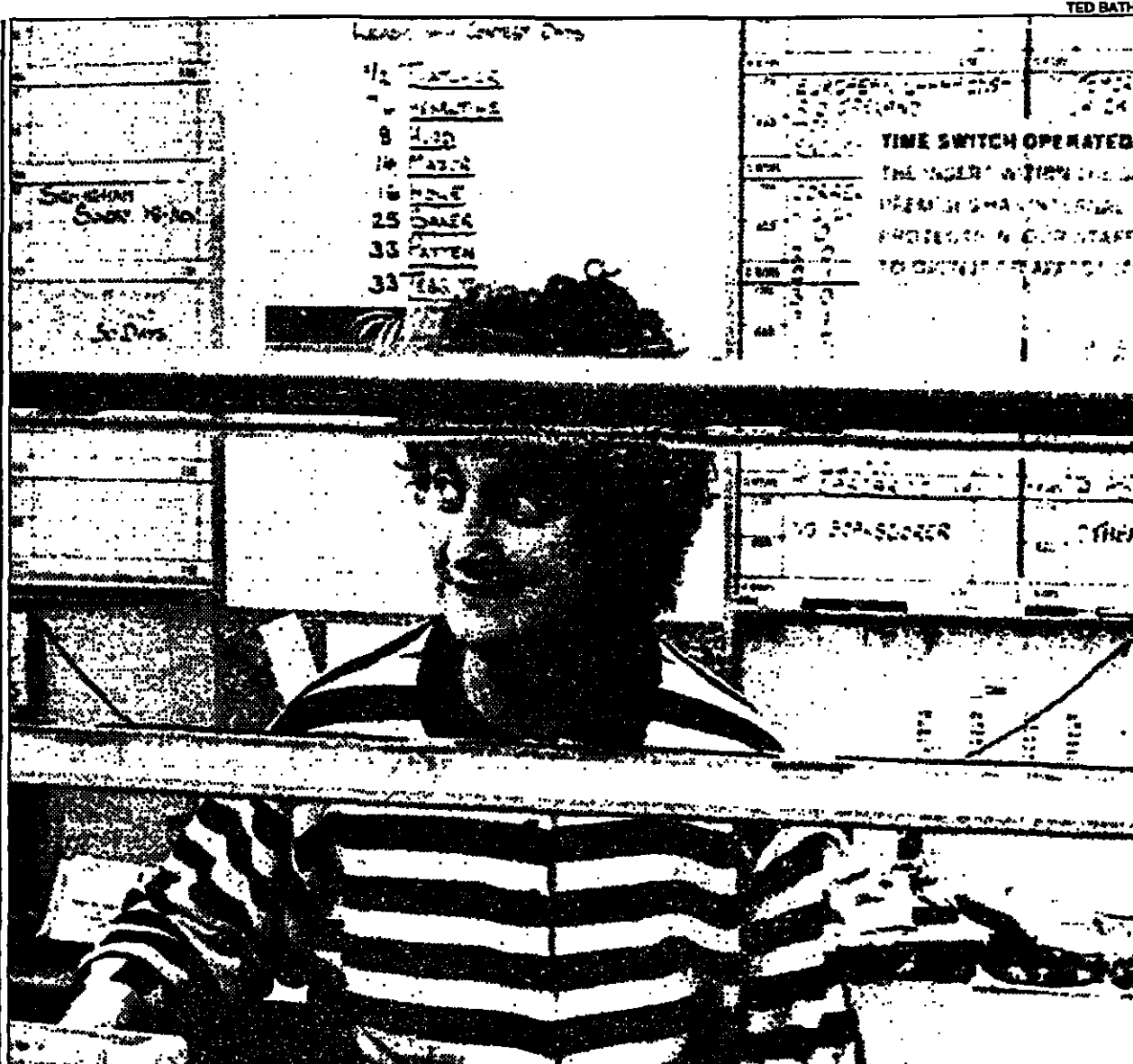
Two Conservative MPs with small majorities in marginal seats in Nottingham are writing to 3,500 Tory party members in the city to ask their views of the leadership contest. Martin Brandon-Bravo, MP for Nottingham South, had a majority of 2,234 (4.2 per cent) at the last election. Michael Knowles's majority in Nottingham East is 456, or 1 per cent, and is one of the most vulnerable Tory seats in the county. Labour was runner up in both seats.

Barry Thurnell, the Conservative agent in Nottingham, said yesterday: "They do genuinely want to hear other people's views first. All I can say is that this morning this office has had approaching 100 calls from members of the party and members of the public, and we have yet to have one phone call in support of Michael Heseltine."

Annette Dickens, chairwoman of the Birmingham, Selly Oak Conservative Association, said last night: "We support the Prime Minister 100 per cent. No waverers have been brought to my attention."

However, Peter Owen, the association chairman, said: "Michael has my full support. There comes a time when one says enough is enough." He admitted, though, that opinion was as divided in the constituency as in the Commons and the country.

Lieutenant Colonel Peter Blacker, chairman of the Rotherfield Greys and Highmoor branch of Mr Heseltine's constituency, said he was dismayed that his MP had thrown his hat into the ring.



Odds on: an assistant at William Hill's Westminster betting office yesterday, waiting for leadership flutters

Betting that is a bookmaker's delight

By RICHARD EVANS

FOR Britain's bookmakers, there is only one winner in the Conservative party leadership contest. Themselves.

Within minutes of Michael Heseltine announcing that he would challenge Mrs Thatcher, the telephones at William Hill were ringing non-stop, with callers enquiring about odds and wishing to wager large sums. Although there are, at

present, only two candidates, gamblers are already betting on other cabinet ministers they believe could be involved in a second round vote.

William Hill has accepted two four-figure bets on Mrs Thatcher to retain the party leadership and make her a hot 2-1 on favourite, while Mr Heseltine has attracted several £400 wagers and is 7-4 against. Douglas Hurd is also well

backed at 8-1, with two £500 bets. Although John Major is 14-1 for the present contest, his odds to become the next but one Tory leader fell from 10-1 to 5-1 following considerable support.

Graham Sharpe, spokesman for William Hill, said: "It is a bookmaker's delight because we are not laying just one or two runners. We are laying right across the spectrum."

Tricky task for Hurd's backers

By PHILIP WEBSTER
CHIEF POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

A SENIOR Conservative MP, long-time supporter of Margaret Thatcher and opponent of any contest this year, yesterday summed up the dilemma facing many backbenchers as next Tuesday's contest looms.

He has reached the conclusion that the prime minister is now too damaged to lead the Tories to victory at the next election. He believes Douglas Hurd to be the ideal candidate to unify the party, and give it a chance of winning the election.

He does not want Michael Heseltine as his leader. Like many others he will have to decide over the weekend whether the best way of getting Mr Hurd into the winner's enclosure is to back Mr Heseltine on the first ballot on Tuesday, or to abstain.

By abstaining he can help to deny Mrs Thatcher the minimum target of 187 that could be enough to get her through, provided that at that point she has a 56-vote lead over Mr Heseltine. However, by denying Mr Heseltine a positive vote he will help ensure that that minimum target will be sufficient for victory.

If he concludes that Mrs Thatcher is guaranteed 187 votes from her natural constituency on the right and the government, the best means of ensuring that a second ballot takes place is to vote for Mr Heseltine. The danger in that course is that if too many of his colleagues reach the same conclusion Mr Heseltine would be elected outright on the first ballot.

One MP said: "MPs are notoriously bad mathematicians. This is beyond us."

Mixed reaction at home base

By WILLIAM CASH AND DAVID YOUNG

THE offices of Finchley Conservatives were being re-decorated yesterday. Michael Love, the prime minister's agent, does not expect similar changes at Downing Street.

"We have sent a letter pledging our full support to the prime minister and have assured her that we are fully behind her," he said yesterday. Hanging on a wall behind his desk are prints by William Hogarth depicting the squalidness of a 19th century political election.

"The contest won't be anything like Hogarth," Mr Love said. "Mrs Thatcher will win clean and fair."

The prime minister's constituency is also home to the Middlesex county cricket club indoor cricket school. "If she wants any batting practice before Tuesday, we will gladly help her brush up her technique," Robert Atkins, the coach, said.

In the shopping area of Ballards Lane, George Kay, who owns Le Car Centre and voted for Mrs Thatcher at the last election, said he wanted to see Michael Heseltine in power. "Speaking as a professional, Mrs Thatcher has clocked up excessive mileage," Mr Kay said.

Pedro Ioannia, aged 44, the manager of Hair Pride, a local

hairdressing salon, agreed. "People need a change. The country needs Heseltine now. I could do an improvement on his hair, though."

Speaking in the manicured drive leading to the imposing clubhouse of Finchley golf course, where Denis Thatcher occasionally plays, a regular summed up the feeling. "She is in a deep bunker," Montague Charkham, a director of Gieves and Hawkes of Savile Row, said.

In Henley-on-Thames, Mr Heseltine's constituency, opinion was divided. Raymond Mobiot, the constituency Conservative Association president, said: "The contest is unnecessary. The battle is going to damage the country, the party and Michael."

However, Peter Owen, the association chairman, said: "Michael has my full support. There comes a time when one says enough is enough." He admitted, though, that opinion was as divided in the constituency as in the Commons and the country.

Lieutenant Colonel Peter Blacker, chairman of the Rotherfield Greys and Highmoor branch of Mr Heseltine's constituency, said he was dismayed that his MP had thrown his hat into the ring.

Mockery in Iraq, caution in Europe

By ALICE THOMSON

THE domestic political problems of Margaret Thatcher caused much revelry in Iraq yesterday, where she was alleged to be possessed by evil spirits. Latif Nazir al-Jassem, the Iraqi information minister, said: "Beating the drums of war is part of the acute psychological problems Thatcher is experiencing as she packs her bags to leave the leadership of the Conservative party."

Europe has reacted more cautiously to the leadership challenge. France, aloof until now, finally joined in the speculation with an article in *Le Monde* praising Sir Geoffrey Howe's Commons speech.

"In a calm and soothing voice, Sir Geoffrey made an unprecedented attack on the Iron Lady," the paper said, and added that Sir Geoffrey had eased Michael Heseltine's path. "Mrs Thatcher now risks being humiliated with only a bare majority, in which case she should stand down."

Liberation devoted a whole page to the subject. "The fall of the house of Thatcher" had preoccupied Britain for the past fortnight, it said, calling Sir Geoffrey the assassin of Mrs Thatcher.

La Repubblica, the popular Italian newspaper, said: "Thatcher's throne is tottering." The Italian press views the leadership challenge with undisguised relish. With the headline "Big Ben marks the hour of the challenge," the *Corriere della Sera* considers "a revolt within the party inevitable after Sir Geoffrey's

speech". The *Turin daily* says: "The torpedo has been fired which may well sink the battleship Thatcher." It describes Sir Geoffrey as the man inside the submarine who pressed the button.

In Norway, the tabloid *Verdens Gang* says Sir Geoffrey has struck Mrs Thatcher a mortal blow with his broken bat.

Spanish newspapers comment with some amusement. "The Tories have now begun an internal war which has all the aspects of a fight in a neighbourhood courtyard," *El Mundo's* London correspondent says. The paper places greatest emphasis on the Iron Lady's determination to "pulverise" the opposition.

Only *Die Welt*, the German newspaper, seems confident of the outcome. "Mrs Thatcher will fight and she will win," the paper says, but adds that, for the Labour party, "Thatcher as prime minister, the best guarantee for their victory in the next general election."

Few newspapers and no public figures in Europe have ventured any substantial opinion on the outcome of the challenge. Most have no wish to be seen to be taking sides. In Brussels, there is barely concealed excitement among many officials at the prospect of Mrs Thatcher's humiliation.

Jacques Delors, president of the European Commission, anxious not to be accused of partisanship, has refused to give interviews to any British correspondent for the rest of the year.

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British social attitudes

Enterprise culture fails to take root

Reports by
Bill Frost

BRITONS have resisted attempts by successive Conservative governments to change fundamentally the national character and impose Thatcherite values on society, the latest survey from the British Social Attitudes team says today.

Roger Jowell, the project director, said: "The enterprise culture seems to have been a bit of a misnomer with the majority of people. There is a strong sense in which the nation has resisted Thatcherism. The prime minister has failed to change hearts and minds."

The survey shows 56 per cent of the electorate in favour of increasing taxes to pay for better social welfare. Researchers found that such a move would attract majority support among all social classes, and was favoured by nearly half of the Conservatives canvassed.

Only 3 per cent support tax cuts leading to reductions in public spending. More than 75 per cent of the electorate believe that people living on state pensions had less than enough to make ends meet. Priorities for the extra govern-

ment spending are clear, with 61 per cent choosing increased expenditure on the national health service, while one in five called for greater investment in education.

Of those questioned 47 per cent believe that private treatment in NHS hospitals is bad for the service and 50 per cent would confine it to private hospitals. Three people in four oppose any movement towards two-tier health care in which private medical insurance caters for the better off while the NHS looks after the rest.

The British Social Attitudes survey, the seventh the team has produced, declares: "The policy of spending cuts allied to cuts in direct taxation has still not attracted public support on anything like the scale the government would doubtless wish. Indeed, attitudes have shifted decisively, even among supporters of the party of government, in the opposite direction." Britain remains a

steadfastly collectivist, or welfare society "obstinately resistant to the lure of the enterprise culture", the survey says.

For the first time the team has examined Northern Ireland issues. Mr Jowell said: "Religious segregation of neighbourhoods exists there on a scale unknown outside the sub-continent."

The survey found that most people in Northern Ireland wish it to remain in the United Kingdom, while "the majority in Britain wish that, in the long term, it would leave."

All shades of British opinion believe the best future for the province is union with the Irish Republic and the removal of British troops. In Northern Ireland itself support among the Protestant community for continued union with Britain is virtually unanimous, but even among Roman Catholics backing for the status quo is higher than on the mainland.

Religion remains at the forefront of social and political life in Northern Ireland to a far more marked extent

than in Britain. Only 12 per cent of people in the province do not have a religion, against 34 per cent in Britain, while 62 per cent live in religiously segregated communities and only 6 per cent of couples are married to someone of a different faith.

The survey found that 77 per cent of people in the province disapprove of homosexual relationships and extramarital sex, compared with 55 per cent disapproving in Britain. Religion rather than class is the primary source of

social and political division in Northern Ireland, the survey said.

"Differences between Protestants and Catholics in Britain are minor by contrast. More important, even social class differences in Britain fail to divide people there to the extent that religion does in Northern Ireland."

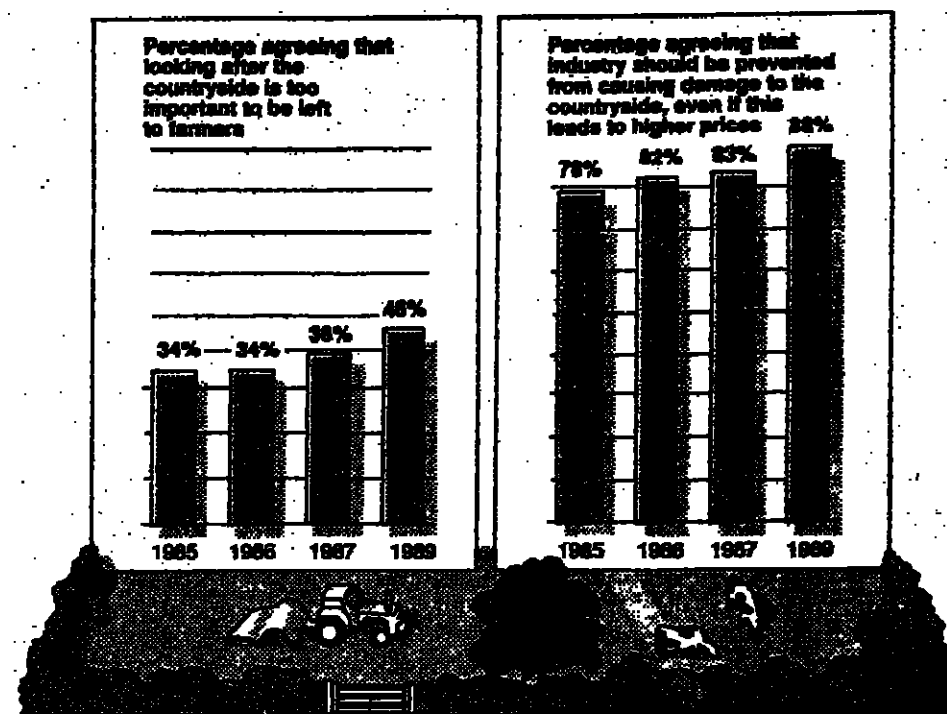
About a third of Protestants and 15 per cent of Roman Catholics trust Britain to act in the best interests of Northern Ireland. But trust in a potential all-Irish government

would be at an even lower level: not even the Catholic community expressed much confidence in that solution.

Neither community favours an independent Northern Ireland. "So the constitutional stalemate in the province appears to be as intractable as ever," the survey concludes.

British Social Attitudes, the Seventh Report (Gower Publishing Group, £32 hardback, £16.95 paperback)

Leading article, page 17



Green concern grows as fear of war recedes

CONCERN over environmental issues has risen to "remarkably high levels", with widespread anxiety at the threat posed by industrial waste in rivers or the sea, the survey finds.

There is also considerable disquiet about the effects of ozone-depleting gases and the destruction of tropical rain forests. An overwhelming majority, 88 per cent, said industry should be prevented from causing damage to the countryside, even if the introduction of stringent environmental safeguards brought higher prices.

Similarly, 72 per cent said the countryside should be protected even at the expense of jobs. There was disquiet too over farming methods, with 46 per cent saying that looking after the countryside was too important to be left to farmers.

Respondents with higher educational qualifications tended to be less trusting towards farmers and less inclined to favour job protection and lower prices at the expense of the countryside. "Labour supporters are rather more likely to favour jobs and lower prices. This suggests that the party may have some difficulty in persuading its supporters to pay the price of environmental protection," the report says.

There is evidence from the latest findings and past surveys that public concern about nuclear issues, defence policies and energy production is linked with concern over atmospheric pollution and

threats to the environment. However, support for the construction of more nuclear power stations, which peaked at a low point in 1986 at the time of Chernobyl, has risen slightly from 11 per cent to 16 per cent.

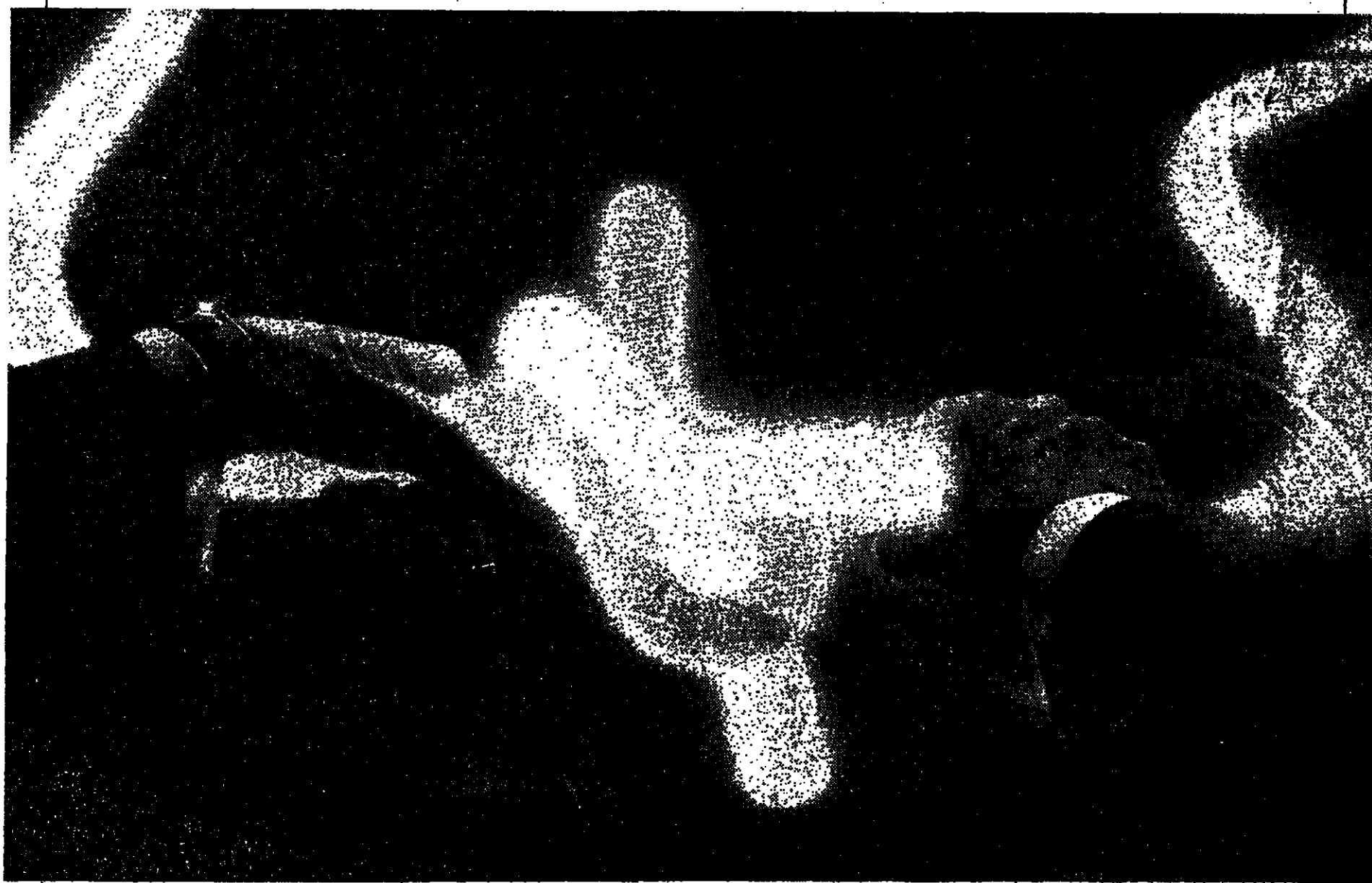
Backing for more fuelled stations has fallen from 48 per cent in 1987 to 37 per cent, however, probably in response to awareness of the risks attached to certain fuel emissions. The largest group of respondents said Britain should make do with existing power stations. Overall, nearly three out of four believe nuclear power stations create serious risks.

The fear of nuclear war between the Soviet Union and the West has receded sharply with 83 per cent believing such a conflict "to be unlikely", compared to 63 per cent in 1985. Nevertheless almost three quarters said Britain should maintain a nuclear deterrent.

The survey suggests that as the war scare of the early 1980s recedes, increased concern about the physical environment may take its place. Thus, wider measures to protect the environment are likely to enjoy high levels of popular support.

The survey, however, sounds a warning note: "We do not yet know what price people are willing to pay for long-term measures, the benefits of which only the next generations may live to see."

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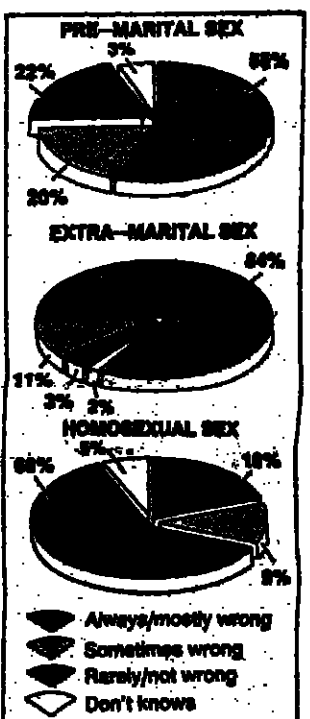
Qualified tolerance of gays

PUBLIC disapproval of homosexuality has lessened as anxiety about Aids abates, the survey says. However, 68 per cent of those questioned by researchers still believe that homosexual relations are always, or mostly, wrong.

Although a trend towards greater tolerance has reasserted itself, large minorities (39 per cent) still believe it is unacceptable for a homosexual to be a teacher in higher education, or to hold a responsible position in public life (37 per cent), and about half the population thinks that homosexuals should not be allowed to teach in primary or secondary schools.

While there is almost universal awareness that male homosexuals, drug abusers and promiscuous homosexuals are at risk from Aids, nearly two thirds of the British public also think that lesbians are threatened by the disease, though they are one of the lowest risk groups. The survey says that, perhaps from growing public complacency, people are now less inclined to acknowledge that occasional marital infidelity is risky, although 60 per cent still believe it is. About one in twenty of those questioned report knowing someone with the HIV virus.

Of those questioned, 55 per cent believe that Aids sufferers have themselves to blame. Respondents over 55 are far more likely to take that view than younger people. However, in apparent contradiction,



tion, 62 per cent think people with Aids should receive more sympathy from society. Even so, only 43 per cent support the proposition that more should be spent on finding a cure, compared with 58 per cent in 1987.

The highest level of condemnation is reserved for extramarital sex, which more than four out of five see as "always, or almost always wrong". The survey reveals considerable tolerance for sexual relationships before marriage, which only just over one in five believe to be wrong.

The report says certain acts are judged right or wrong according to the harm they cause, rather than the fact they offend against a rigid moral code. "People may be coming to realise that it is unsafe sexual practices themselves which carry a risk of Aids, and not the kind of sexual relationship in which these practices take place."

Working women defend their role

BRITISH women of working age are more fiercely opposed than ever to the suggestion that their place is at home with the children. Almost 70 per cent of those approached by survey researchers rejected the proposition that "a wife's job is to look after the home and the family". In 1984 only 50 per cent disagreed.

Two in three women aged 18 to 34 also believe that having a job is the best way to establish personal independence. Only one in five, however, says that the family will also be happier if the woman works. In general, older women hold less egalitarian views than younger women.

Men are less liberal in nearly every respect, particularly over women combining work with family responsibilities. Only one in seven men believes that a woman and her family will be happier if she goes out to work. But husbands of women with paid jobs are considerably more egalitarian in their attitudes than those who are sole breadwinners.

Marriage remains a very popular institution, though over two in five people think it

advisable for young people to live together before making a final commitment to each other. Only 4 per cent would advise living together permanently without formalising the union.

Considerable concern is registered over how children fare in single-parent families. Fewer than one in three of parents believe a single parent can bring up a child as well as a married couple.

The same question was put to respondents in five countries besides Britain: the United States, the Irish Republic, The Netherlands and Hungary. "Answers in all five countries were unambiguously sexist, with mothers being judged the more competent to bring up a child alone," the survey says.

In Britain only three in ten people believe that divorce should be made more difficult, and about half of those answering researchers' questions believed that the law should stay as it is. But only 17 per cent say divorce should be made easier for couples with young children.

Man left girl for de
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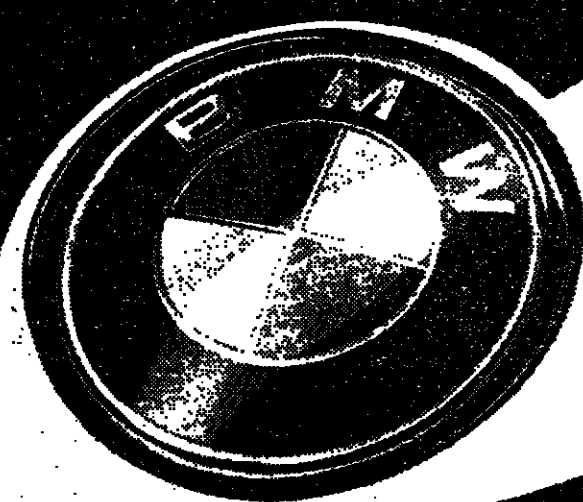
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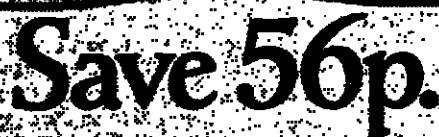
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Man left strangled girl for dead on Downs, court told

By MICHAEL HORSNELL

AN UNEMPLOYED labourer snatched a girl aged seven as she roller-skated home and drove her in the boot of his car to a nearby spot, where he left her for dead after a vicious sexual assault, a court was told yesterday.

The girl survived the attempt to strangle her at Devil's Dyke, a landmark on the South Downs, in East Sussex, and was able to describe her ordeal to police, Lewes Crown Court was told.

Ann Curnow, QC, for the prosecution, said that on February 4, the girl, from Brighton, went to a corner shop but found it closed. She was returning home when she saw a red car with the boot open. "She went past a man whom she had not seen before

and he grabbed her from behind round her waist and put her into the boot, which was then shut. Despite her tender years she is a child of great presence of mind and in spite of her ordeal she observed certain things in the boot and tried to hammer on the lid with some success."

At Devil's Dyke the man transferred her to the back seat of his red Ford Cortina where he placed his hands over her mouth and round her neck until she was left "mercifully unconscious".

The court was told that the girl, who was abducted on the Whitelake estate on the outskirts of Brighton, was sexually assaulted after being strangled. Her clothing was then thrown away or buried and she was left for dead in undergrowth. But she came to and was able to go for help.

She asked the first people she met: "Are you kidnappers?" They took her to a golf club near by, where police were alerted and 482 officers spent the following day searching the Downs.

Russell Bishop, aged 24, a father of two children, from Lewes Road, Brighton, denies kidnapping, attempted murder, attempting to strangle with intent to enable him to commit indecent assault, and indecent assault.

During her 20-minute car ride across 14 miles of countryside, the girl hit the lid of the boot with a hammer she found there to try to attract attention until the driver shouted at her to be quiet. She also planned to try to escape but did not have a chance before losing consciousness, the court was told.

Miss Curnow said: "She remembers nothing until she came to, stark naked in the bushes feeling sick and very dizzy. As she started to get out of the bushes she stumbled. She emerged onto a track on the Dyke in a really dreadful condition. The Crown's case is

that she had been rendered unconscious by suffocation. It is the Crown's case that the assailant intended her to be unavailable to give evidence against him, to kill her and he left thinking she was dead."

Miss Curnow said that the couple who found her noticed "his apparition coming towards them, naked and bleeding and crying with her hair matted". She asked them to take her to her mummy and daddy. As they put her in the back seat of their car and covered her with clothes she asked whether she was being kidnapped again.

The girl's skating boots and other clothing were later discovered, together with a tracksuit allegedly worn by Mr Bishop, who was arrested the day after the assault.

Fragments of paint from the inside of the boot of Mr Bishop's car were allegedly matched by forensic scientists with flakes found on the girl's skating boots. Fibres from her jumper were said to have been found on the tracksuit bottoms and in the boot.

Miss Curnow says that according to DNA genetic fingerprint testing the chances of semen found on the tracksuit bottoms not being Mr Bishop's were allegedly one in 80 million.

The court was told that at an identity parade three days after the assault, the defendant was noticed allegedly altering his appearance by wetting his hair. The parade was delayed while his hair was dried. The girl, who inspected the line-up through a mirror, was asked if she could point out the man who attacked her. She said: "I think it was number nine."

Number nine was Mr Bishop. Later, her mother told the jury: "She is bright, observant and some people say she is a little bit of an old head on young shoulders. But then again she can still be a child when she wants to be."

The case continues today.

Prison regime that thrives on therapy

This week David Waddington, the home secretary, promised to step up treatment for jailed sex offenders. Quentin Cowdry visited Grendon jail, Buckinghamshire, where violent criminals receive intensive therapy



Community spirit: Ken Smedley, an officer at Grendon jail, chatting to an inmate

"THIS is the hardest piece of bird I've done," says Paul, a tall, fresh-faced prisoner, almost debonair in his striped shirt and brilliant white Reebok trainers. "Physically it's easy — but mentally it's something else."

The assessment deserves serious consideration as Paul, serving three life terms, has spent most of the past 25 years involuntarily testing prison regimes. It was only when he came to Grendon jail in Buckinghamshire, however, that anyone tried to explain why, since the age of ten, he had been committing crimes.

For the first eight years after his conviction for multiple manslaughter, Paul was the toughest of the tough in jail. But his hardness was largely a veneer and two years ago, in a shared cell at Long Lartin maximum security jail, the coating finally disintegrated.

He recalls: "I insisted on being moved into the segregation block. I just couldn't take it any more. I had to have help." It seemed as though he had reached his ultimate nemesis, but the despair marked the beginning of his recovery. Shortly afterwards, he was transferred to Grendon.

Today Paul, whose surname *The Times* has decided not to disclose, appears a transformed personality. Where there was once aggression and hopelessness there is now gentility and an almost visible sense of purpose. He talks openly, though with painful remorse,

about the night he learnt of his girlfriend's infidelity and the following descent into violence. His chances of being moved soon to a category C jail or even an open prison are now considered good.

Grendon, which lies outside the village of Grendon Underwood, near Aylesbury, is a maverick prison, an islet of penal progressiveness that, 27 years after its opening, has lost none of its shock value. On every level, the contrast with the rest of the prison estate is marked.

Whereas many prisoners can look forward to only a few hours "unlock" each day, Grendon's inmates spend almost as much time outside their cells as in them. Staff-inmate relations in most jails are distant, with prison officers insisting on strict observance of rules, but at Grendon the atmosphere is amicable and prisoners help to make the rules. Therapy in other jails is often little more than a 15-minute monthly chat with a psychiatrist; in Grendon it is on tap around-the-clock.

Grendon, to an extent that horrifies many prison officers, is a genuine community where a whole raft of decisions, ranging from what should be on the menu each day to whether a prisoner should be ejected from the jail, are taken jointly by staff and inmates.

The regime is focused on attempting to confront and alter the offending behaviour of some 200 mainly violent criminals. Staff prefer that

inmates volunteer for the prison's arduous, 12-week induction course as no-one, they point out, can have therapy forced upon them. About 75 per cent of applicants are accepted.

Every week there are three four-hour therapy sessions, the inmates on each wing dividing into five groups to encourage debate. At the end of the discussions, overseen normally by an officer, psychologist or psychiatrist,

all inmates and staff on the wing convene to discuss progress.

Research shows that former Grendon inmates are not less likely to reoffend after release from jail, but staff point out that studies have taken insufficient account of how deep-rooted the average Grendon inmate's criminality is. When they do relapse, their offences are generally less severe.

David Saunders Wilson,

the prison's young assistant governor, also says that Grendon has proportionately fewer disciplinary hearings than any other British jail and has never suffered an escape or serious assault on a member of staff.

He recalls the day that a burly convicted murderer ambled into a therapist's office and placed a large hunting knife on the table, saying: "I feel safe here. I don't need this any more."

£344,000 damages for farmer

A farmer who lost the chance to take over the tenancy of an Essex farm after his father's death because of his solicitor's negligence was yesterday awarded £344,000 by the High Court.

Roger Layzell, aged 46, had hoped to take over the tenancy of the farm in Pebmarsh. An error by his solicitors meant, however, that an application to the Agricultural Land Tribunal was not made within three months of the death and a notice to quit was served.

Ballot arrests

Police investigating alleged ballot rigging within the Transport and General Workers' Union yesterday arrested two women activists based in Liverpool. They were later released without charge. The arrest of the women, who were members of the union but not paid officials, followed the arrest earlier in the week of seven people by Scotland Yard. They were also released without charge.

Cling film move

The Tesco supermarket chain joined other retailers in withdrawing cling film yesterday after the government's warning that chemicals in the food wrapping could be harmful. The company has acted pending new instructions on packs in line with recommendations made by food experts.

Fraud raids

Sixteen people were arrested yesterday in dawn raids by Flying Squad detectives investigating benefits frauds. The arrests in Lancashire, Cumbria and Scotland follow an enquiry into frauds involving hundreds of thousands of pounds. Police said more arrests were likely.

350 jobs go

Philips, the Dutch electronics firm, is to cut 350 jobs in England, it announced yesterday. The cuts will mean redundancy for a quarter of the 1,200 staff at the Philips components factory at Belmont, Durham. Another 50 jobs will go at Simonstone, Lancashire.

Suicide verdict

The actress Jill Bennett took a drug overdose while depressed over the break-up of a love affair, an inquest at Westminster Coroner's Court was told yesterday. Dr Paul Knappman, the coroner, recorded that Miss Bennett, aged 58, who was found dead at her London home on October 5, committed suicide.

Lib Dem choice

Bob Ingham, a Macclesfield councillor, has been chosen to contest Clwyd North-West for the Liberal Democrats. The seat is held by the deselected Conservative MP Sir Anthony Meyer. Mr Ingham, aged 59, is an environmentalist educated at University College of North Wales, Bangor.

Cosy notions of rural life 'are belied by reality'

By RUTH GLEDHILL, RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS REPORTER

PEOPLE living in rural areas have feelings of depression, utter powerlessness, betrayal and lack of hope as deep as any felt in the inner cities, the Right Rev Peter Nott, Bishop of Norwich, told the General Synod of the Church of England yesterday.

He said: "The scale of rural problems may be less, and it is masked by its surroundings, but the experience is as real and equally heart-rending." The bishop, vice-chairman of the Archbishops' Commission on Rural Areas, whose 400-page report, *Faith In The Countryside*, was designed to shatter the illusion of the rural idyll, added: "It is difficult sometimes to believe in this crisis, because it is hard to understand that someone can be deprived who lives in beautiful surroundings." To discuss finance would be to miss the point of the report, which highlighted a conflict in church life between the demands of the economy and the demand of faith.

Sir Douglas Lovelock, First Church Estates Commissioner, said, however, that the re-

port could hardly have come at a worse time, because money is tight and it would become even more so. Each of the five big reviews proposed by the report could cost up to £30,000 a year for two or three years, he said. A recommendation to raise the clergy stipend to £14,000 and give some clergymen's wives £2,000 a year would cost £60 million a year. The report, which was referred to the synod's standing committee for further consideration, will be noted in the House of Lords today. Dr Robert Runcie, Archbishop of Canterbury, said: "The withdrawal of local facilities of all sorts, the shrinking of transport facilities, the real poverty often hidden by apparent rural affluence, these are matters made clear in this report and help to dispel cosy notions of the countryside."

The publication of *Faith In The City*, an earlier church report, resulted in the Church Urban Fund, which has raised £15 million towards its £18 million target. No similar fund is proposed for the rural church, although the synod agreed to appoint a rural officer. Dr Runcie said: "I hope that our debate will not be obsessed by the question of cost, important though that is."

John Gummer, the agriculture minister and a member of the House of Lords, said the church had to accept that most decisions about agriculture were made in Brussels.

The Right Rev Michael Ball, Bishop of Truro, said that only one-third of the people in his diocese were economically active and in full-time employment. He added that there was a "heavy hearted hopelessness" in many country areas.



Gummer: most agricultural decisions made in Brussels

Rough times ahead for BA

By HARVEY ELLIOTT, AIR CORRESPONDENT

Wartaby, the airline's chairman, said that all airlines were experiencing difficulties, mainly because of the Gulf tensions.

"The airline industry is flying through some rather uncomfortable turbulence," he said. "British Airways is not immune from this but we believe that with strong management we will be able to withstand the current difficulties and take the company to the blue skies beyond."

Talks are to be held with unions today in an effort to obtain approval for wage rises well below the level of inflation in return for a promise of no compulsory redundancies. The airline was on target for even bigger profits before the sharp increase in oil prices and the rise in the value of sterling in the wake of the invasion of Kuwait.

BA's overall yields are depressed as fewer people travel by Concorde or first-class and it is meeting increased competition from American carriers and a concerted drive within the European Community to force its local competition policy on leading airlines.

Shares tumble, page 29

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Australia seeks UK help in new clean-up of nuclear test site

By ROBERT COCKBURN AND OUR FOREIGN STAFF

THE most comprehensive study yet of outback contamination caused by British nuclear tests in Australia was tabled in the Canberra parliament yesterday, and will form the basis of fresh demands that Britain contribute towards a new clean-up of the sites.

Australia is to seek fresh talks in the new year with the UK government on the future of the Maralinga range in South Australia. But although the study confirms that plutonium contamination of the site is more extensive than has ever been admitted, the Foreign Office in London yesterday stood by the position that Britain was absolved from further responsibility by agreements with Canberra in 1968 and 1979.

The four-year study was conducted by the so-called Technical Assessment Group, consisting of Australian, British and American scientists. It was set up after a Royal Commission in 1985 rejected British claims that an earlier clearance of the test range was adequate, and recommended that Britain bear the cost of a

new clean-up. Complete rehabilitation of lands that Aborigines were driven from by the tests between 1953 and 1963 would cost more than \$AUS650 million (£250 million). The Australian government will almost certainly opt for a cheaper solution, and the Maralinga Aborigines are ready to enter negotiations. However, argument over who pays would be revived in any new talks between the two governments.

The study says that an area of 13 square miles of aboriginal land north-west of the restricted Maralinga range will be permanently uninhabitable. More than 38 square miles has radiation levels of from five to 20 millisieverts. An area approaching 580 square miles has contamination of one millisievert, which is deemed safe by the study.

The detective work in tracing waste from the tests, including some 50 lb of weapons-grade plutonium covered by sand in 1967, is a remarkable achievement for the scientists. They discovered each device had turned a record of its radioactive contents into

the land. This caused a security scare for the Ministry of Defence in London last year, when it stopped full publication of this data, fearing aspiring nuclear powers such as Iraq could gain vital information on plutonium amounts and purity.

The study also considered the danger posed by radiation to a desert community such as the Aborigines. The Maralinga Aborigines have been described as ideal guinea pigs living in an outdoor laboratory for examination of survival conditions after a nuclear war. A tribal community who hunt, eat and sleep in the open, they often go barefoot and wear thin clothes, making them vulnerable to dust-borne contamination.

The Labor government of Bob Hawke is understood to favour a partial clean-up and fencing of the dangerous area, costing between \$AUS30 million and \$AUS60 million. The Maralinga Tjarutja Aborigines say they seek a practical solution, not a "moral victory", and will accept compensation for the loss of the worst-affected lands.



Princess charming: a radiant Princess of Wales congratulating a member of the cast of Welsh Opera's production of *Salome* backstage at the Bunkamura theatre in Tokyo. The Prince and Princess of Wales attended the performance last night. The Welsh Opera visit to Japan is part of the UK90 cultural exchange programme. Earlier yesterday the prince urged Japanese businessmen to set an environmental example to industry

worldwide by becoming "world-friendly" (Renter reports). He said that overseas activity by big business in sensitive areas such as the tropical rainforests, oceans and developing countries had become a legitimate concern of customers, employees and suppliers as well as shareholders. The prince told presidents and chairmen of Japan's most powerful companies that big business should develop an international commitment

to good corporate citizenship "firmly based on the principles of sustainable economic development", adding: "In the great peaceful post-war resurgence of Japan's industry, Japan has led the world in the concept of 'user-friendly' products. What we need now is an extension of this concept to the world around us. Business must become 'world-friendly'. And here again, Japan can show us the way."

Japan pays credit, page 24

Pressure grows on Malan to resign

Johannesburg — General Magnus Malan, the South African defence minister, is under fresh pressure to resign after a judicial commission confirmed that a covert military unit took the law into its own hands in a murderous conflict with the African National Congress and its allies (Gavin Bell writes).

Critics across the political and racial spectrum distanced themselves from the official enquiry found that the covert Civil Co-operation Bureau employed convicted murderers to "try, sentence and punish" perceived enemies of the state in the 1980s.

Mr Justice Louis Harms, the commission chairman, said that the minister was responsible for the bureau, but General Malan said he could not be held responsible for "the unauthorised activity of five or six people". He was supported by President de Klerk, who said: "I can find no reason to condemn the politicians in charge for the way they carried out their duties."

The ANC said the minister should resign and all irregular military units should be disbanded.

Delhi fighting

Delhi — Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs fought running battles in the streets of Old Delhi as the communal conflagration that has created havoc across northern India reached the capital for the first time. At least two people were shot dead and one was stabbed to death when a Sikh peace march turned ugly. Tensions were high because a Sikh holy book had been burnt by unidentified men.

Debts wiped out

Brussels — About 69 of the world's poorest countries are to have all their debts to the EC wiped out under a plan put forward by the European Commission. Informal soundings among EC member states found widespread support for the move, one of the key demands of the African, Caribbean and Pacific nations in recent negotiations with Brussels for a new Lomé trade and aid convention.

Pakistan sell-off

Karachi — The new Pakistani government of Mian Nawaz Sharif, the prime minister, is to sell off state-owned banks, insurance, and financial institutions, and sweep away bureaucratic controls on investment. Mr Sharif told industrialists in Islamabad that all nationalised industries would soon be returned to the private sector in an attempt to free the economy from state and bureaucratic controls.

Nevada go-ahead

Washington — The American energy department said that a nuclear weapon test in Nevada would go ahead, despite claims by the environmental group, Greenpeace, that three British women had infiltrated the site to protest at Britain's involvement. Greenpeace said it was in contact with the women, Lorna Richardson, aged 25, Jane Gregory, aged 27, both of London, and Juley Howard, aged 23, of Bristol.

Cancer hope

The US Food and Drug Administration has approved the first clinical use of gene therapy in cancer patients, a treatment that some scientists believe will revolutionise medicine. The method is to be tried first on an unnamed middle-aged man with malignant skin cancer.

Man kills 11 in New Zealand rampage

FROM JEREMY HART IN DUNEDIN

A GUN-obsessed loner rampaged through a New Zealand seaside hamlet for almost 24 hours, killing 11 men, women and children before he was shot dead by police yesterday.

David Gray, aged 33, who was armed with two hunting rifles and a revolver, killed a fifth of the population of Aramoana when he went berserk on Tuesday night. Residents huddled in their homes as Gray first fired randomly at his neighbours, then stalked the picturesque community, leaving a trail of scattered bodies. His unhindered movement made it difficult for a 150-strong police force to surround him.

Finally, an anti-terrorist squad stormed the house in which Gray was hiding. Tear gas flushed Gray, dressed in a military-style pullover and balaclava, into the open, where he shot one policeman in the ankle. The volley of returning fire hit Gray in the chest and head, killing him.

Most of the victims had not been identified last night, but the mass killing is thought to have left at least three members of one family dead, as well as Leo Wilson, aged six, Chris Cole, aged 61, a London-born fisherman, and Stuart Guthrie, aged 41, a local policeman and father of three.

A neighbour of Gray's witnessed the shooting and said he could not believe it when he realised who it was. "I looked up and saw shots ricocheting off a parked utility car (van) and people screaming and diving for cover," Darrin Gibbs said.

The police announced an enquiry, while politicians pressed for an urgent review of gun laws.

Further weapons and ammunition were found in Gray's house. He was described as a gun-mad loner by neighbours. According to unconfirmed reports, Gray had recently tried to buy an AK47 automatic rifle.

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Left and right

King tries to Gulf troop amid Tories

Saddam dismissed hard-man cousin from partnership

US prepare to

Britain will play leading role in EC, Major says

By ROBERT MORGAN

A CLEAR message that Britain intends to play a leading role in the future development of Europe was delivered to the Commons yesterday by John Major, the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Speaking on the last day of the six-day debate on the Queen's speech, he said that Britain intended to play a central role and, furthermore, the other 11 European Community governments wanted it to.

With Margaret Thatcher sitting beside him, Mr Major told MPs that the whole government was agreed on the need to continue an evolutionary approach to European integration. He made clear his backing for the prime minister and predicted that when the general election came the people would vote for the courage and conviction with which Mrs Thatcher had led the country for so long.

In recent months policy on Europe and the debate on economic and monetary union in particular had occupied centre stage, he said. That was not surprising because there was a great deal at stake.

But the rapid push towards the Delors version of European monetary union owed almost everything to pressure for closer political integration. That was the message from the Rome council. But that was

the wrong way to approach such important decisions. What was needed was a constructive, practical approach. That was the approach the Community had been following over the past five years or so.

"It has built on the undoubted discipline of the exchange-rate mechanism with the Deutschmark providing the anchor. The result has been an impressive degree of convergence on low inflation in much of Europe."

The whole government was agreed on the need to continue that successful evolutionary approach in the further moves now under discussion towards economic and monetary integration. The government's proposals were practical, realistic ideas and they would promote convergence and economic integration beyond Delors stage one. They would enable the 12 members of the EC to move forward together.

The fact that some European figures attacked Britain's proposals should not worry them because their proposals were gathering ground and they would gather more adherents as the inter-governmental conference in Rome next month got down to details.

One of the points on which they all agreed at the Rome council was that there needed to be a substantial next stage that should involve the further development of the ecu.

"At present, the only worked-up proposals for stage two are ours and the Spanish proposals which are similar to ours. The conference that starts next month will determine the future direction of the Community. It is therefore of enormous importance not just for this country but for the Community as a whole and the wider Europe as well. We face some difficult negotiations, but the House should remember we are not yet really in the middle of the process. The conference has not yet started. There is a long way to go."

"But we should not underestimate the strong desire both here and among our partners that we should not be sidelined. Our European partners want the United Kingdom in the centre of the Community. We have played a leading role in recent years in the creation of an open Community based on free trade and the abolition of barriers. Our partners know that and they know too that it would not have been achieved but for the leadership of the prime minister."

Opening the debate, John Smith, the shadow chancellor, challenged the government to say clearly whether the economy was in recession.

He said that Mr Major's tactic was to query the definition of recession and to suggest that an assessment could not be made when so many different definitions existed. The chancellor was "slipping from one definition to another like a bird flying around a cage looking for a statistical perch to rest on."

However, in the autumn statement, Mr Major had predicted a drop in output for four quarters in succession. That was a serious recession and the chancellor should stop querying and quibbling.

Mr Smith said that the government lacked credibility in the financial markets and he cited Sir Geoffrey Howe's comments about the exchange-rate mechanism.

"We now know that the prime minister only agreed to the decision in principle to join the ERM when she was cornered by the chancellor and the foreign secretary and threatened with their resignations unless she made a declaration that she would join."

Mr Smith said that the prime minister was "taken at pistol point" to join. When the prime minister appeared to disagree with his words, he

added: "She is casting some doubt on the credibility of Sir Geoffrey. I think I would prefer him as a witness."

The Madrid conditions, to be met before Britain joined, had been "hocus pocus" from the start. They had been there to get the prime minister off the hook. Mr Smith asked if the hard-ecu plan was an alternative to the single currency or was an alternative means of achieving it. He quoted Mrs Thatcher as saying she did not believe that the formula would develop into a single currency, and Norman Lamont, Treasury chief secretary, saying that a single currency would be achieved more quickly by going down that path.

"Some say one thing. Some say another. No wonder... the prime minister's difficulty is that she cannot unite the cabinet behind her European policy."

He said: "Does it or does it not lead to a single currency. Is it intended to be a failure as a policy or a success? Unless that question was answered, the lack of credibility would remain."



Major: "What is needed is a constructive, practical approach to these important decisions"

Ridley support for Thatcher's Europe stance

By PETER MULLIGAN

NICHOLAS Ridley, the former trade secretary, declared strong support for the prime minister's stance on Europe yesterday and said that Sir Geoffrey Howe did not differ from her in substance.

In the second resignation speech to be delivered to the Commons in successive days, Mr Ridley said that Margaret Thatcher was right to be firm about a single European currency.

He responded to Sir Geoffrey's speech, delivered 24 hours earlier with an emphasis on a middle way, by setting out the options as the hard ecu, a compulsory single currency or leaving things roughly as they were.

Mr Ridley said: "He did not tell us what the middle way was. I have to conclude that he does not actually have a point of difference of substance with the government."

Mr Ridley, who resigned after his anti-German remarks in an interview with the Spectator caused widespread protest, told MPs that he did not see a middle way.

He said that he had received many letters of support, including a large number from young people, since his res-

ignation. He described "a feeling that we were being pushed along into a single currency and that we were being bullied and in the end we would be forced to join because nobody was really taking the trouble to stop it."

"The country is very apprehensive. They want to know more about it first, but what they do know they do not like. They actually want a very firm stand to be taken."

He said that the prime minister's domestic audience preferred her style to that of Sir Geoffrey. Mrs Thatcher, he argued, was right to try to persuade the other 11 countries of the mistake that they were making, of the dangers to Europe itself and of the dangers to Britain.

"She is right to offer the hard ecu as a feasible alternative which will test whether the nations of Europe actually want to go to a single currency. It leaves the option with them instead of pushing it at them."

Mr Ridley maintained that there was a strong case for persuading the other nations not to proceed with the single currency. "If they insist, there is a very much stronger case for us opting out."

Police want new soccer powers

Police officers asked MPs yesterday for powers to search potential football hooligans outside grounds and to keep troublemakers away from matches (Sheila Gunn writes).

James Anderton, Greater Manchester chief constable, complained about the difficulty of arresting leaders of organised gangs of troublemakers who orchestrated their campaigns from outside grounds.

Giving evidence to the Commons home affairs committee, Mr Anderton suggested that exclusion orders could be extended to stop known hooligans from going anywhere near a football ground.

He also called for the four new offences against football hooligans announced by David Waddington, the home secretary, this week to be introduced in the criminal justice bill this session instead of waiting for future legislation. The offences, recommended by Lord Justice Taylor's report on the Hillsborough disaster, deal with ticket touts, pitch invasions and spectators who throw missiles or chant racist or obscene abuse.



Vacancies for 1,470 teachers

There were 1,470 vacancies for teachers in schools in England at the start of term in September, and 561 of those were in Greater London, Mr Michael Fallon, a junior education minister, said yesterday.

He said in a written answer that all 109 local education authorities had responded to an education department survey of vacancies. The figures showed that they had worked hard to fill more than 23,500 vacancies during the summer.

In a separate answer, Mr Fallon said that 21,757 students had enrolled for teacher training courses last year, compared with 16,725 in 1985.

Bird plan goes

The government's reluctant proposal to introduce licensing to allow farmers and others to kill "pest" birds only at specific times and in specific places has been dropped, Christopher Patten, environment secretary, said, because the European Commission is preparing an amendment of EC rules that will meet the problem.

Church cash

A central government grant of £11.5 million towards the cost of repairing cathedrals will enable the scheme to be established on a sound footing, Christopher Patten, environment secretary, told MPs at questions.

Parliament today

Commons (2.30): Questions: Home Office; prime minister. Debate on EC documents on indirect taxes. Lords (3): Census (Confidentiality) Bill, second reading. Debate on rural society and the archbishops' commission report *Faith in the Countryside*.

'Jam tomorrow' taunt from junior minister

MICHAEL Heseltine was accused by a minister of promising "jam tomorrow" when Labour MPs taunted the government over the prospect of a new Conservative party leader during Commons questions on the community charge.

Robert Key, junior environment minister, was responding to a suggestion by David Blunkett, the Labour MP, that the government had a problem over poll tax which it needed to address before the next general election.

Mr Blunkett did not mention Mr Heseltine by name, but Mr Key said: "I gather that Mr Heseltine is promising jam tomorrow in much the same way as we have heard the Labour party promising jam tomorrow."

Speculation that the poll tax might be swept away by a new party leader was voiced by Bryan Gould, shadow environment spokesman.

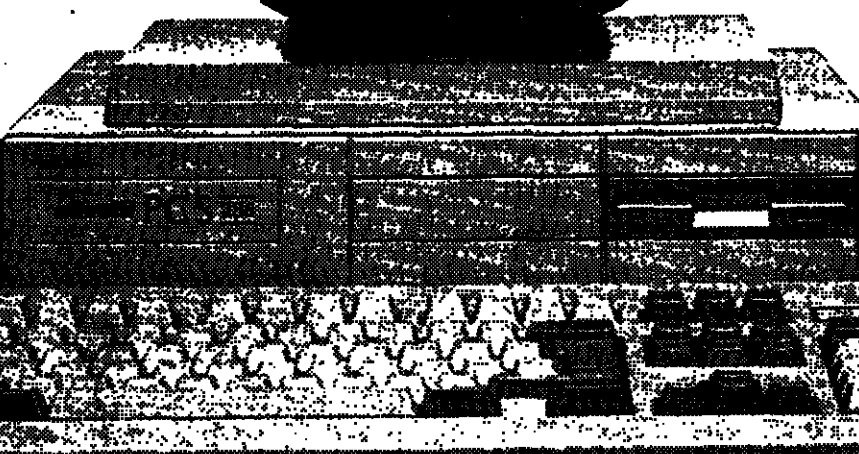
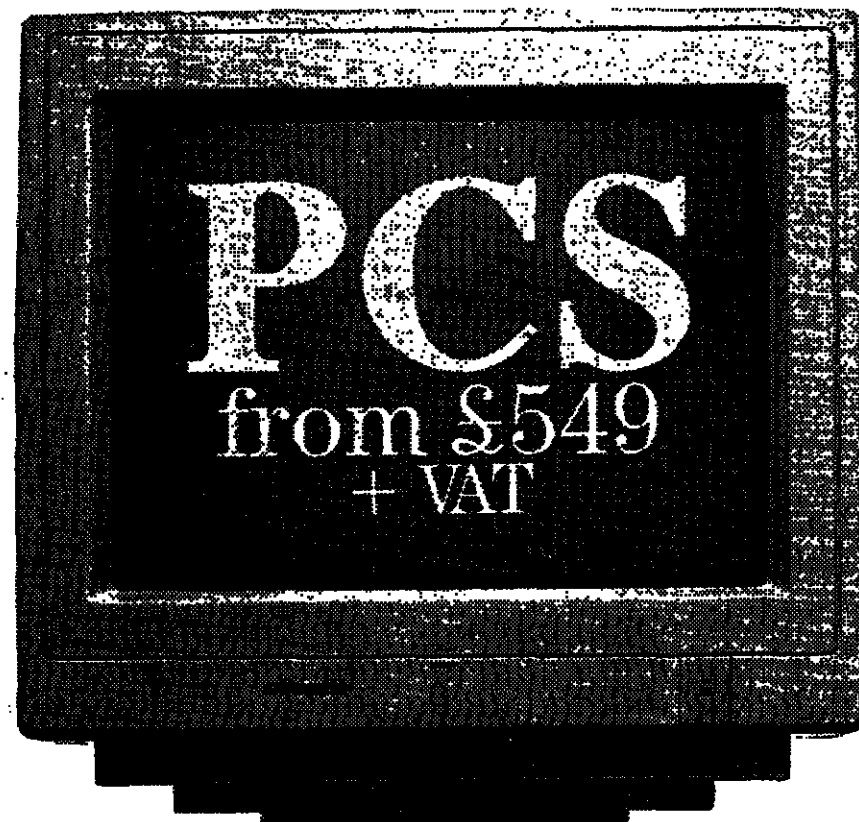
He asked Chris Patten, environment secretary, if he would be telling MPs next week that, under new leadership, the poll tax was, after all, a terrible mistake.

Mr Patten responded that Labour-controlled local authorities had "clobbered" and "fleece" businesses with high rates in the past, putting up their bills by more than the rate of inflation year after year.

He accused Mr Gould of being coy about saying exactly how much external finance for local authorities should have been increased for next year.

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Polish border treaty leaves expelled Germans embittered

From ROGER BOYES IN WARSAW

GERMANY and Poland yesterday ended more than 40 years of political feuding by jointly recognising and confirming the Oder-Neisse line as the frontier between the two countries.

But Germans expelled from Eastern Europe after the second world war bitterly attacked the treaty, branding it as an illegal deal based on Stalinist precedents.

Since the border is now in effect between the European Community and the rest of the continent, the accord — signed only six days after a meeting between Helmut Kohl, the German chancellor, and Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the Polish prime minister, is considerably more than a bilateral issue. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the German foreign minister, indicated the treaty would open Poland's way into Europe. "The unquestioned border does not divide, but join. This is the beginning of a joint European mission."

In practical terms, this seems to mean that Germany will champion Poland's attempts to be affiliated with, and eventually join, the community. Herr Genscher also made plain that visa restrictions on Poles would be eased by the end of the year, and that Bonn would urge similar concessions from signatories of the Schengen agreement, smoothing travel to the Benelux countries.

The treaty and a much broader general agreement on "good neighbourly relations" — which should be ready for initialising by the new year — are seen by Poles as a test of the new Germany, helping to define whether it will be an open state, or more nationally assertive. Herr Kohl's initial hesitation about confirming the Oder-Neisse line, ahead of unification, suggested that Germany might become an uncomfortable, if not downright hostile, neighbour. But the speed with which the



Genscher admitted that signing pact was painful

border treaty has been drafted and signed has reassured many Poles.

Herr Genscher hinted at the domestic political cost of affirming so ambiguously the Oder-Neisse line. The powerful, or at least vociferous, lobbies for the Germans expelled from the Polish territories originally thought that

unification would bring them, closer to their lost homes.

Herbert Hupka, the leader of a group of Germans who were driven out of Silesia in the southwest of present-day Poland, compared the post-war expulsions with Iraq's annexation of Kuwait. He said: "No new law can arise from that crime, just as Iraq cannot claim any rights on the basis of its expulsion of Kuwaitis." Mr Hupka, who said yesterday was a "black day" for expellees, demanded that Bonn win German citizenship for all ethnic Germans living in Poland when it negotiates a friendship treaty with Warsaw next year.

Herr Genscher admitted: "Today's decision has not been easy for Germans, nor for me. It was very painful, especially to those who have lost their homes."

Krzysztof Skubiszewski, the Polish foreign minister, gave little more than a nod in this direction: "Chancellor Kohl has spoken of those who lost their homes here. That loss was the result of the aggression that destroyed the order which existed before 1939." But both sides agree that the way is open for real co-operation.

The German minority in Silesia will be recognised as such, but not given special privileges, such as dual German-Polish citizenship.

Most important for Poland is that the treaty counters the growing sense of international isolation Warsaw has been feeling in the past six months.

Berlin squatter colony stormed

From ANNE McELVOY IN BERLIN

A SECOND night of rioting in the east Berlin district of Friedrichshain ended yesterday in 134 arrests after a dawn operation by commando police units to clear 12 occupied tenements.

Three thousand police stormed key apartments occupied by anarchist youths calling themselves the *Milizante Autonomen*. Fierce fighting broke out with the squatters showering police with petrol bombs, and bars and tiles from the rooftops. Random shots were also fired.

The fighting lasted two hours with the squatters foiling a first assault. Commando units finally entered the building after scaling ropes and engaging in hand-to-hand fighting on the rooftops. Ten policemen were injured and several rioters with head wounds were carried from the scene on stretchers.

The riots marked the peak of a spiral of violence in former East Germany and are being described by city officials as the worst in ten years and more vicious than the notorious outbreaks in the Kreuzberg area of the city throughout the 1980s.

An attempt to mediate between the authorities and the squatters by Bärbel Bohley of the New Forum citizens' group, which led the campaign against the communist regime a year ago, failed.

Erich Pitzold, Berlin's interior senator, said he favoured a peaceful solution to the widespread problem of squatting in Berlin, but the



Dawn raid: police commandos removing squatters from east Berlin tenements yesterday after a second night of riots

brutality of those occupying the run-down buildings in Friedrichshain had made dialogue impossible. Most of those arrested were west Berliners who have moved over to the east since the opening of the border.

● BONN: The German government means to slash DM35 billion (£12 billion) from public spending next year in an effort to find the money to fund the cost of

unification without resorting to unpopular tax increases (see Murray writes).

A sizeable amount of the saving will come from the defence budget, but other cuts, including subsidies for Berlin and the old inner German border regions, will be far less popular. Bonn is also to call on the *Länder* to contribute a higher amount to the cost of unification, Theo Waigel, the finance minister said.

Warsaw's racist ghosts on loose

Lech Walesa has shown a dangerous ambiguity over anti-semitism in the presidential contest, Roger Boyes says

THERE is a scum around the microphone. Two men are fighting to ask Lech Walesa a question. The older man wins. What does Mr Lech, whom we all love — applause — and who will be a true Polish president — applause — plan to do about this government that is being run by *sydokomuna*, communist Jews? Silence.

It is not a question, nor is it answered. The man is shoved aside. But the comment lingers.

The great contest between Mr Walesa, the Solidarity chairman, and Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the prime minister, is the first American-style presidential election in Eastern Europe. It is a choice between individuals, their personal style and attitudes, not programmes (Mr Walesa insists that he has none) and there is all the razzmatazz of the modern campaign.

But appearances deceive. The techniques and the technology may be modern, but the emotions stirred up are rooted in the nationalist politics of the 1920s and 1930s, the time of the last independent Poland. It was a different country then: primarily agrarian, a multi-cultural place with millions of Jews, Germans and Ukrainians.

Then, as now, Poland had to carve out independence in the force field between a resurgent Germany and an uncertain, inward-looking Soviet Union. The big debate of the time, between the strident Russophobic anti-semitic nationalism of Roman Dmowski and the Russophobic yet ethnically tolerant, striving for independence of Marshal Jozef Pilsudski, has never been resolved; under communism, it was deep-frozen. Now, in the election campaign, the ghosts are again on the loose.

One of the canards of the campaign is that Mr Mazowiecki is of Jewish origin. At night teenagers deface his posters with stars of David or scratch the picture

to give him a hook nose. The implication is that he is somehow less of a Pole.

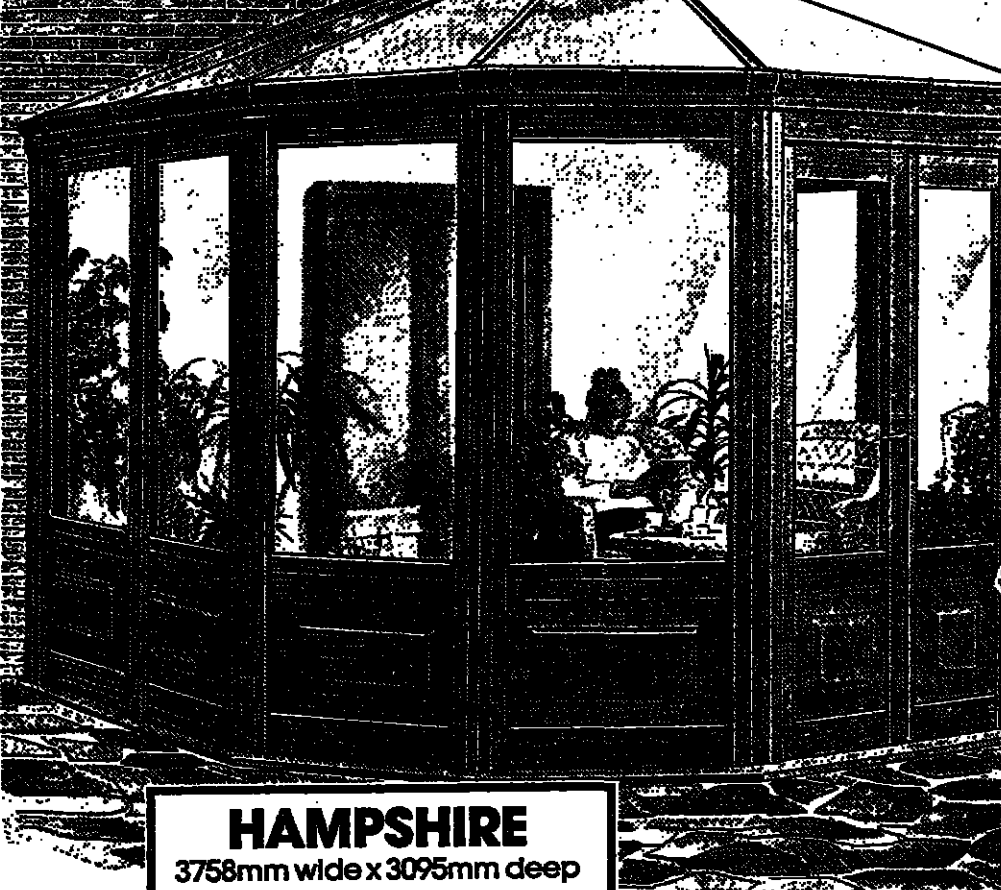
Mr Walesa sometimes condemns anti-semitism during his speeches. But he does not slap down the agitators. He plays the ancestor game. Before the campaign began in earnest, he said: "I'm a real Pole. I'm not ashamed of it. Why should those of Jewish origin be ashamed of their roots?"

The roots of Polish anti-semitism are deep and tangled. Yet there are two traditions running side by side, of mutual tolerance and respect — how else did so many millions of Jews find a home in Poland over the centuries? — and of friction and resentment. Yet to revive the pre-war anti-semitism as a political weapon in the country's most important free election is particularly perverse, ignoring the fact that the Jews were mainly massacred on Polish soil, in German camps. There are barely 12,000 practising Jews left in Poland, most of them elderly.

Mr Walesa draws support from many quarters. Most are rational, frustrated citizens who want a respite from the recession, the austerity programme, the long, uninspiring haul to the market. But his noisiest backers are from the militant right-wing, the spiritual descendants of Dmowski.

The right-wing presidential candidates failed to clear the first hurdle — the gathering of 100,000 signatures — and put their bets on Mr Walesa. The Solidarity chairman wants to be a president in the Pilsudski mode. But he uses the vocabulary and reasoning of Dmowski, the simplistic line that says: "I'm Polish because I'm not Jewish." That sentiment may have served some political purpose in the 1930s when there was a huge Jewish community in Poland. But now, with almost no Jews left, it is the logic of the madhouse.

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Left and right unite as Congress awakes to risks of Gulf war

THE captains of the US Congress are reaching out to over-ride the man they call "president autopilot" and to reassert control over the American military machine in the Gulf. The senior men of Capitol Hill, recovering from the rigours of budget battles and long election campaigns, have taken flight. The President's policy towards Kuwait, formerly described as a careful twin-track approach of deterrence and diplomacy, is now castigated as dangerously deterministic, a computer programme pre-set for war.

Yesterday legislative leaders met Mr Bush at the White House to discuss the deepening divisions over his decision to turn Operation Desert Shield into an overtly

offensive force. Few congressmen admit that their ambition is to wrest power from the president but the reality is stark.

A team of weakened White House aides, without an agreed domestic strategy, is facing a reinvigorated Democratic opposition and a Republican party which has become increasingly emboldened to make policy independently of its president. For Congress as a whole, which is locked in an eternally simmering fight with the White House over the constitutional rights to declare peace and war, the temptation to make a timely tactical gain is enormous.

Lack of unity at the top has given greater scope for dissenting voices at lower levels. Currently

After the distractions of budget and election battles, American politicians are training their sights on White House policy over Kuwait, writes Peter Stothard, US Editor

the anti-war movements are an incoherent, mutually suspicious, mis-alliance of left and right, pacifists, libertarians, isolationists and liberals. The fear in the White House is that they might make common cause.

Thousands of students have demonstrated in New York and Minnesota. Radical San Francisco groups, railing against Mr Bush's war for oil, have popularised the slogan "How many males to the

gallon?" But they have not yet appeared on the same platform with men such as the former Reagan and Nixon aide, Pat Buchanan, the foremost conservative critic of the Gulf action.

Mr Buchanan, whom some Republicans would like to see challenging the president in 1992, has supported every military action by America in his lifetime. He would not normally share political slogans with the anti-Vietnam

activist, liberal historian and former Kennedy aide, Arthur Schlesinger. But this time, with communism dead, Mr Buchanan sees no core American interest in supporting one Arab autocrat against another. Mr Schlesinger agrees and, although the two men are not bearing placards in the same parade, both want a brake on the president's war plans.

Congress is not yet to be recalled to debate the latest phase of the struggle against Iraq. Congressional leaders say in public that the fullest legal backing for a war policy would strengthen the American strategy in the Gulf. But the White House has to balance the benefits of whatever backing emerged against the harm that

divisive rhetoric might do. Any strengthening of the anti-war forces could deliver a disastrous blow to American hopes of driving Iraq from Kuwait, and virtually end hopes of overthrowing President Saddam Hussein.

Commentators are recalling that it took a combination of Hitler and Roosevelt to overcome American isolationism in 1940. President Saddam, whatever Mr Bush may say, is no Hitler; George Bush, even by his best friends' claims, is no FDR.

Keeping its critics apart is a key to White House strategy. Dan Quayle, the vice-president, skillfully pointed this week to the "Buchanan-McGovern axis". By linking his fellow right-winger to

the Democratic presidential contender whom Richard Nixon destroyed in 1972, he challenged Mr Buchanan's distance himself from his new allies: which he duly, and with ill-temper, did.

But the occasional deft touch will not be enough to destroy the risk of a broad "America First" movement like that of the 1930s, particularly if recession deepens.

At yesterday's meeting the question of recalling Congress was postponed. But the White House may have bought only a little time. Without a more consistent case (and not just from the president, whose rhetorical powers are so poor), there is a growing risk that a genuinely popular opposition to the Gulf policy will emerge.

King tries to bolster Gulf troop morale amid Tories' battle

FROM CHRISTOPHER WALKER IN SAUDI ARABIA

CONCERN was growing in the Saudi desert yesterday that the challenge to Margaret Thatcher's leadership of the Conservative party would appear as "the hand of Allah" to President Saddam Hussein of Iraq and there were fears about the effect that any change could have on events in the Gulf.

The remarks were expressed as Tom King, the defence secretary, made his first visit to the Seventh Armoured Brigade, the Desert Rats, since they arrived in eastern Saudi Arabia to bolster anti-Iraqi forces.

The shadow of the contest hung heavily over the visit as

Mr King, a fervent Thatcher loyalist, denied he had ever hinted publicly that a leadership challenge could harm the morale of the 11,500 British troops serving with Operation Desert Shield. "I did not say that, I did not say that," Mr King insisted after climbing down from a Challenger tank after manoeuvres in the desert about 125 miles from the Kuwaiti border.

But his remarks failed to quell unease at officer level that any defeat for Mrs Thatcher could lessen the resolve for a military option.

Mr King said: "What I said was that we are obviously moving through a critical few

weeks and there must be no doubting our resolution in ensuring that Saddam Hussein does not believe that somehow we are going to be preoccupied and not absolutely committed to seeing the end of this aggression and that message is clear.

"I am reinforced in this because I shall be able to tell the troops that there is a unanimous view among the parties, there is a unanimous view in the Conservative party, on the rightness of our response and the need to recognise that while we seek a peaceful solution, if that is not reached then the option of force may be used."

Accompanying Mr King on the tank exercises was Lieutenant General Sir Peter de la Billiere, the former SAS commander now in charge of British forces in Saudi Arabia. Asked how they had reacted to the leadership struggle, he said: "To be perfectly honest, we feel somewhat remote from it. We are busy getting on with the job which is taking us 18 hours a day whether you are a soldier who is out in his slit trench, an airman who is standing by at short notice to fly his aircraft or a sailor."

"But, undoubtedly, we look for stable support from the UK. We certainly have had it up to now and I hope that the people at home and the government will continue to give us the regular support that we would expect."

A sergeant from the Scots Dragoon Guards said: "Truthfully, I do not think most of our lads care a toss about it. Anyway, most of them are supporters of the Scottish National Party."

Another soldier said: "Who cares if it is Thatcher or Heseltine? That is for people in London to worry about."

The remoteness of the soldiers from Westminster was emphasised when Mr King handed over the first of a hundred short-wave radios donated by the BBC. "Now we might have a better idea of what you are all talking about," a private said.

Extra forces: Reports from Saudi Arabia suggest the 5,000-strong 4th Armoured Brigade, based in Germany and equipped with Challenger tanks, will be the unit selected to join the Desert Rats. Sources in London said that no decision had been made.

Ali Akbar Velayati, the Iranian foreign minister, meanwhile, flew to Baghdad for talks with Tariq Aziz, his Iraqi counterpart.

ANKARA: The case of an Iraqi military attaché, who has been implicated in a spying incident here, has further soured relations between Turkey and Iraq. The attaché, Brigadier Fazlil Ahmed Septi, was named on Tuesday by a Turk who has been charged with spying for Baghdad.

Yesterday it was disclosed that the Iraqi attaché had been posted elsewhere by Baghdad. However, the Turkish foreign ministry could not confirm whether he had left the country.



Action man: Tom King, the defence secretary, leaping from a Challenger tank after watching an exercise by the Desert Rats about 125 miles from the Kuwait border

Saddam dismisses hard-man cousin from governorship

FROM MICHAEL THEODOULOU IN NICOSIA

PRESIDENT Saddam Hussein has dismissed his cousin and long-standing confidant as governor of Kuwait in another sign of nerves and uncertainty by the Iraqi leader at a time of dwindling options.

Despite a surge of diplomatic activity in the region, the prospect of an emergency Arab summit to avert war in the Gulf looked increasingly unlikely yesterday with Baghdad demanding tough conditions for taking part and its opponents insisting that Iraq must first pull out of Kuwait.

Typically, no reason was given for the dismissal of Ali Hassan al-Majid, a paternal cousin of President Saddam, and his replacement by Aziz Saleh al-Nouma, an adviser of the Baath party and a former state minister. An Iraqi opposition leader described him as "another yes-man". News of the change was announced in the government newspaper, *al-Jumhuriya*.

Some Arab sources said that Mr al-Majid, known as the ruthless former military governor of Kurdistan, had gone too far in Kuwait and that the much-publicised reports of lawlessness, looting and rape in the occupied city could give the United States the excuse it wanted to launch an attack.

However, Mr al-Nouma's appointment did not mean that the Iraqi leader favoured a softer approach in Kuwait, a leader of a London-based Iraqi opposition group said. Saad Jabr said President Saddam had appointed a half-brother, Barzan Ibrahim al-Takriti, a former intelligence chief, to be unofficially in charge of Kuwait with orders to dismantle its infrastructure and to drive out the native population.

In a further sign of intransigence, Baghdad said it wanted Arab leaders to drop resolutions adopted at an earlier League of Arab States summit in Cairo where a slender majority voted to send troops

to join the multinational forces in the Gulf. Taha Yassin Ramadan, Iraq's first deputy prime minister, laid down the new condition after a meeting in Rabat with King Hassan of Morocco, who had on Sunday called for a fresh summit hailed as a last chance for peace. A second Iraqi envoy who visited Algiers called for preparatory talks among a few Arab states to pave the way for a summit.

The new conditions increased suspicions among Iraq's opponents that Baghdad's interest in a summit was merely a stalling tactic, designed to deflect an American attack while Arab leaders were preparing to talk peace.

In Saudi Arabia's first response to the summit proposal, Prince Saud al-Faisal, the foreign minister, said it would be a waste of time unless Iraq first agreed to pull out of Kuwait.

Syria and Egypt, the two other key Arab states in the anti-Iraqi alliance, share a similar view, though they have not officially responded to the summit call. Their leaders, President Assad and President Mubarak, met for unscheduled talks in Damascus, the Syrian capital, yesterday.

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Missing Iranians 'key to releases'

By JUAN CARLOS GUMUCIO

FRESH signals that the question of the Iranians missing in Lebanon for more than eight years is a crucial issue in the hostage dilemma emerged yesterday when a prominent Hezbollah official said no progress can be expected until their fate is resolved.

Hussein Mousawi, the leader of the fundamentalist Islamic Amal organisation and a founding member of the pro-Iranian Hezbollah, made this clear when he was asked about the release of three British hostages.

His remarks coincided with the arrival in Lebanon of relatives of the four Iranians thought to have been murdered after being seized by Christian gunmen in northern Lebanon in July 1982.

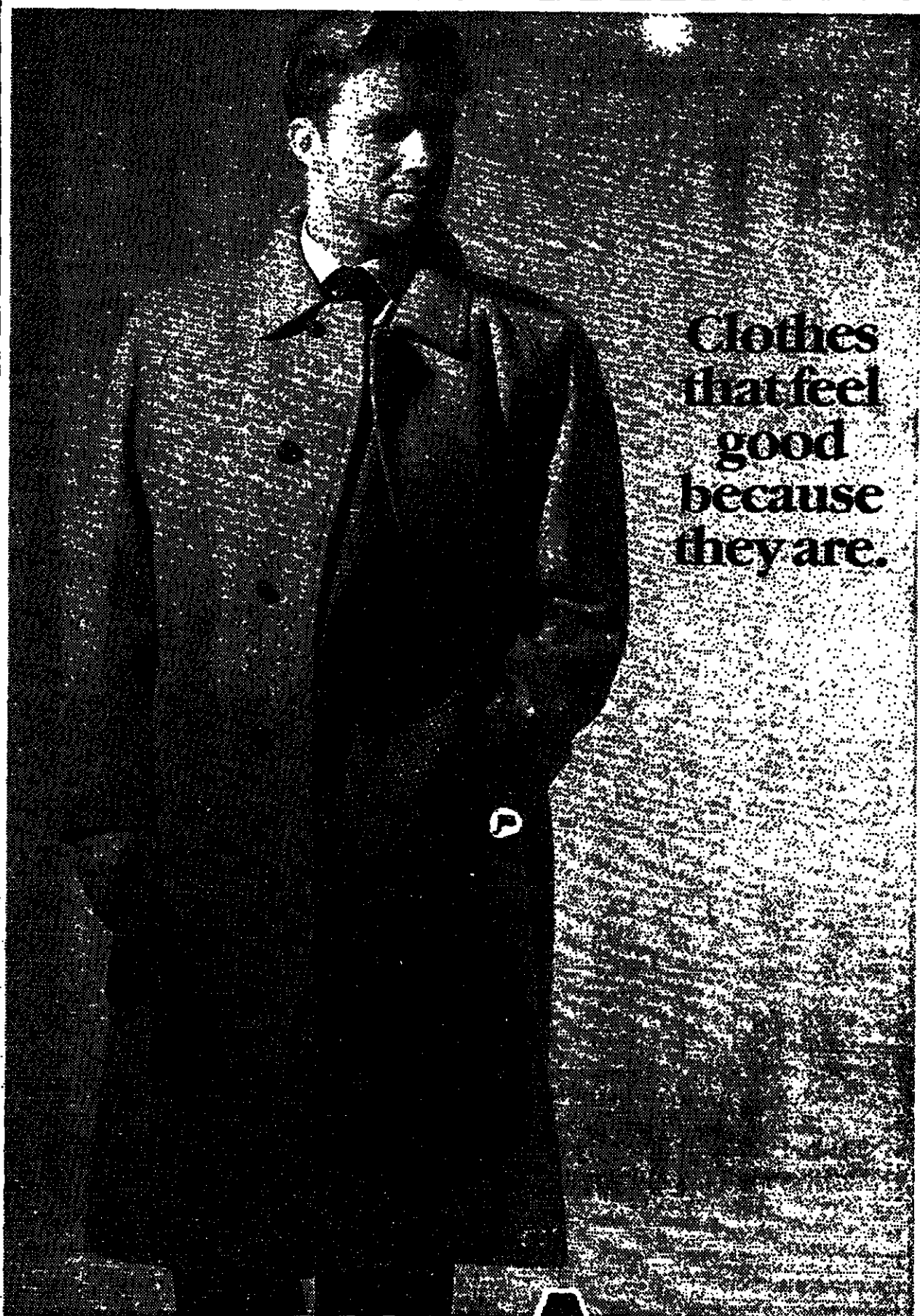
Both events enhanced the belief that Shia Muslim hardliners in Beirut and Tehran may be reviving the issue to embarrass Lebanese Christian militia leaders who are expected to join the government in Beirut.

Mr Mousawi said Britain and the United States should press the case of the missing Iranians. "America and Britain, which have hostages in Lebanon, should try to release the Iranians in order to end the issue of their hostages," he said.

There is no evidence to support claims that the Iranians are still alive.



Sir Peter: feeling remote from Westminster struggle



US prepares Kuwaitis for revenge

FROM JAMES LEMOYNE IN SAUDI ARABIA

IN A desolate stretch of desert here, a team of American special-warfare advisers is helping the remnants of the Kuwaiti army regroup, rearm and prepare to fight Iraq. A visit to this frontline area offered what was believed to be the first look by reporters at the usually elusive American military trainers, including army special forces advisers who are working in Arab units and co-ordinating military operations with them.

A Kuwaiti officer said the American special warfare advisers were teaching a Kuwaiti armoured brigade about Iraqi tactics and training it to call in strikes, neutralise Iraqi mines, destroy tanks and interrogate prisoners.

"The Americans are very good," said a Kuwaiti army captain who would give his name only as Ali. "They show us how to kill the Iraqi tank. They are very brave."

The ten members of the American military training team here declined to be specific about their work or their units, but said they had been camped here for the past two weeks. Under the military rules in force here the base's position cannot be reported.

Comments by Kuwaiti soldiers and insignia worn by the Americans indicated that several were members of the Army Special Forces, a unit trained particularly to work in small groups advising foreign army units.

Stepping into a tent to avoid a 25mph wind of cold dust and tumbling desert debris that cut visibility to a hundred yards, the American advisers said they were confident that the Kuwaitis would fight well if the order came to attack Iraqi positions across the border. "They are very competent," the commander of the team said. "All they are waiting for is the word."

Other advisers had strong feelings about training Kuwaitis. "This is more like a family operation," said Staff Sergeant Barry Sperlin, aged 29, from Houston, Texas. "We're very close."

Asked why America should spend lives and resources here, he said, referring to President Saddam Hussein of Iraq: "We've got a man here with chemical weapons and bio-

logical weapons who wants to build nuclear weapons. Here and now, right now, is the time to take him out."

A Kuwaiti tank commander said his unit had fought the Iraqis when they invaded in August, battling for nine hours before running out of ammunition and withdrawing into Sudi Arabia.

The Kuwaiti unit here is formally known as the 35th Brigade, but has been renamed by its survivors as the Martyrs' Brigade, two officers said. When asked how he felt about having left his country in the face of the invasion, Captain Ali said: "It is a little bit shameful to me. I want to be in front when we attack them. I want revenge." (New York Times)



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West wins 'insurance clause' in arms treaty

By MICHAEL EVANS, DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

THE Soviet Union has been persuaded to accept a last-minute "non-circumvention" clause in the conventional arms treaty to be signed in Paris next week, following Western concern over the thousands of tanks which have been transferred east of the Ural mountains. This is beyond the region to be covered by the treaty.

About 16,000 Soviet tanks, included in the original data provided by Moscow during the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) negotiations in Vienna, have now been moved to the other side of the Ural, the geographical dividing line for the treaty.

In Paris on Monday, 34 leaders from the member states of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) will be meeting for a three-day summit. The highlight will be the

signing of the CFE treaty, negotiated by the 22 countries of Nato and the Warsaw Pact. According to diplomatic sources, the Soviet Union is expected to produce new data, listing only about 20,000 tanks for inclusion as treaty-limited items. The previous figure was 36,000.

Under the CFE agreement, the two alliances are to reduce their tank totals from the Atlantic to the Urals to 20,000 each, with no one country allowed more than 12,000. But, under a so-called "sufficiency rule", worked out between the members of the Warsaw Pact and agreed by Nato, the Soviet Union is to be allowed to keep 13,150 tanks in the region. After the shipment of tanks across the Urals, Moscow will have to destroy about 7,000 tanks, instead of the 13,000 originally anticipated by the West.

Western diplomats do not believe Moscow is deliberately trying to subvert the spirit of the arms control agreement. Nevertheless, Nato negotiators have succeeded in including a clause which makes it clear that if Moscow redeploys a strategically significant number of tanks, or any other equipment covered by the treaty, just outside the defined area, the alliance reserves the right to withdraw from the treaty.

The clause could be said to be an insurance policy against the possibility of a more reactionary regime taking over from President Gorbachev. Yesterday one senior Western diplomatic source said: "The Soviets have told us at very high level that they have not moved the tanks and other treaty-limited equipment for any sinister reason. They anticipate destroying many of them anyway, and have already started. But, because they have so many to destroy, they want more than the 40 months allowed them under the CFE treaty. Moving them out of the treaty area will give them more time. We sympathise with their position."

Most of the Soviet tank production factories are also east of the Urals. "So it's probably more convenient for them to have the tanks there," one source said. A third reason given is that Moscow will want to reduce the old T-72s and T-72s deployed east of the Urals with their newer T-72s. "That's perfectly legitimate," the source said.

Under the CFE treaty, the Soviet Union will be allowed to keep, in the area west of the Urals, 13,150 tanks, 20,000 armoured combat vehicles, 13,175 artillery pieces, 1,500 combat helicopters and 5,150 combat aircraft, with an additional 400 land-based naval aircraft.

The alleged gunman, Aleksandr Shmonov, aged 39, from Leningrad, is in solitary confinement under KGB arrest. He faces a charge of attempted terrorism.

Moscow gunman 'aimed at Gorbachev'

From MARY DEWSEY IN MOSCOW

LAST week's shooting incident during the October Revolution anniversary parade in Red Square was more serious than was previously admitted and may have been an attempt to assassinate President Gorbachev.

Sergeant Andrei Myshukov, aged 28, the policeman who detected and disarmed the gunman, told a press conference in Moscow that he had spotted a man standing slightly apart from the main civilian parade. He said he saw him produce a double-barrelled hunting rifle and aim directly at the stand on top of the Lenin mausoleum where Mr Gorbachev and other leaders were gathered.

When he saw the man produce the gun, he said, "I was about three metres (10ft) away from him. I rushed towards him and reached for the rifle barrel with both hands, pushing it into the air. That was when the first shot was heard. Then I pushed the rifle so that it was pointing away from the crowd, in the direction of the GUM department store. That was when the second shot fired, over the heads of the guards who had by then surrounded him."

The alleged gunman, Aleksandr Shmonov, aged 39, from Leningrad, is in solitary confinement under KGB arrest. He faces a charge of attempted terrorism.



Upper hand: M Mitterrand, top, has left M Rocard to take the blame for France's education problems

Rocard is pushed into firing line

From PHILIP JACOBSON IN PARIS

WHEN it comes to political knife-work, President Mitterrand has a mastery touch. With his government coming under attack for having failed to order more effective police measures against hooligans who rioted during last Monday's protest march through Paris by school students, he has deftly manoeuvred Michel Rocard, the prime minister, into the line of fire.

No sooner had M Rocard returned from attending the coronation of Japan's emperor than he found himself once more the target of damaging rumours that his number might be up. And while the conservative opposition is baying for blood, the prime minister's real problem appears, not for first time, to be in the Elysée Palace.

The trouble began when the president, snuffing the wind, decided it was prudent to demonstrate solidarity with the teenage lycéens who have been demonstrating in vast numbers for drastic improve-

ments in the French secondary education system. While pitched battles raged in the centre of Paris on Monday evening, he invited a delegation of pupils around to the Elysée for a chat about what was should be done.

After an hour, the students emerged saying that M Mitterrand had expressed agreement with their claims. "It is now up to Rocard's government to get on the job and do something for our schools," one of them observed, thereby passing the prime minister - knowingly or otherwise - the hot potato that Lionel Jospin, the education minister, had been juggling with in growing despair.

As ever, M Mitterrand's timing was perfect: the Socialists are still battling to get their 1991 budget through an increasingly hostile National Assembly with the possibility of a no-confidence vote next week. If the Communists carry out their threat to jump ship and support the opposition motion, M Rocard could be left alone for the first time in his two-and-a-half years in power.

M Mitterrand's strategy of switching blame for the education problems to his prime minister reflects a renewed eagerness to be rid of M Rocard. As for M Rocard, the resentment of knowing that M Mitterrand's magic circle frequently disparage his qualities has understandably put iron in his soul.

If the mainstream conservatives were not even more divided than usual, the government would be in grave danger.

Libyan activist living in Britain

A well-known Libyan activist, who has helped co-ordinate Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's economic links with the Irish Republic, has slipped back into Britain and is living in Liverpool (Andrew Lycett and Andrew McEwen write).

According to Libyan sources, Tayyib as-Safi, aged 37, has been in Britain for three weeks. He is said to be here on a nine-month training course. He is on secondment from a Libyan oil company and calling himself Tayyib Minsafi, a name referring to his tribe rather than family.

In another development, two British MPs yesterday began talks with counterparts in Tripoli on Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. The delegation is the first to be sent by the British branch of the Inter-Parliamentary Union since Colonel Gaddafi seized power in 1969. Its presence is a limited gesture implying appreciation by Britain of Tripoli's opposition to the invasion of Kuwait, although Libya also rejects the presence of Western troops in Saudi Arabia. The move is not likely to lead to a softening of the British attitude to Col Gaddafi.

Sir Michael Marshall (Conservative, Arundel) and Martin Redmond (Labour, Don Valley) were due to meet members of the General People's Congress, which was readmitted to the IPU a year ago. In a letter to *The Times* yesterday, Prince Idris al-Senussi, a relative of King Idris, who was overthrown by Colonel Gaddafi in September 1969, questioned the timing of Sir Michael's visit.

Sudan coup fails

Dubai - A coup attempt in Sudan has failed and the military government is carrying out mass arrests, Sudanese opposition sources and two Gulf newspapers said. The attempt, the fourth against the 16-month-old government of General Omar Hassan al-Bashir, was crushed a few days ago, according to the reports. Two former ministers were among the alleged plotters rounded up. (Reuters)

Ukraine leader

Kiev - The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet has elected Vital Fokin, aged 58, as its new prime minister. Mr Fokin, well respected and described as being on the liberal wing of the Communist party, acted as prime minister after the humiliating resignation last month of Vital Masol, who was forced from his job by mass protests and a student hunger strike.

Court defied

Athens - Andreas Papan-dreou, Greece's former socialist prime minister for eight years, defiantly rejected a summons to answer criminal charges against him in a bank scandal. He said the charges, which prompted his 1989 election defeat, were part of a political vendetta being waged against the socialists by the present New Democracy conservative government and the Communist party. (Reuters)

Ship grounded

Manila - Jacques Cousteau's research ship, Calypso, ran aground during the strongest typhoon to hit the Philippines this year, but the French underwater explorer, aged 80, was not on board. The coast guard said the converted minesweeper had been forced aground by strong winds and rough seas caused by Typhoon Mike, off the central island of Mindoro, but it had no reports of any casualties. (Reuters)

Dutch reduce age of consent to 12

From MARK FULLER IN AMSTERDAM

CHANGES in Dutch law, effectively lowering the age of consent to 12 years, have received almost unanimous support from the country's lower House and are expected to become law shortly, pending approval by the upper House.

The contents of the bill have caused more concern outside The Netherlands than within, and have been misunderstood. Elizabeth Rensman, a spokesman for the justice ministry, said yesterday: "At the moment the public prosecutor can use his discretion on cases involving sexual intercourse with children aged between 12 and 16, and can decide not to prosecute if both partners have consented to the intercourse."

The ministry maintained that the aim of the new proposals was to give extra protection to minors. Under the new bill, children can report sexual abuse to the police and the Child Protection Council can act independently on a tip-off. At the moment, only complaints

made by parents or legal guardians are considered by the public prosecutor. This has proved a serious stumbling block, especially in reporting cases of incest, which form a large proportion of child abuse crimes.

The bill also extends the time allowed for reporting sexual abuse from three months to 12 years. "This takes into account the fact that many children who have been abused find it difficult even to speak about the incident for many years, and it will give a more effective chance of prosecution," Miss Rensman said.

The amendments, which also aim to make rape in marriage illegal, do not advocate higher penalties for committing sexual crimes. Rape still carries a maximum prison sentence of 12 years and illegal intercourse with children aged between 12 and 16, eight years. However, the moves may also fuel the country's production and distribution of child pornography.

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The late Malcolm Muggeridge on the craft that kept him so long in the public eye

A lifetime's love affair

It is a fearful thing to contemplate the output of 40 years of journalism. Let us suppose an average daily stint of about one thousand words. The total runs into millions. One has written the Bible and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* many times over. Add to this the spoken words on radio and television, and one moves into astronomical figures: a vast verbal outpouring, dealing for the most part with topics of no present relevance — notices of books and plays whose authors have long been forgotten, editorials on once burning controversies which now matter to no one, obituaries already out-of-date when their subjects died. Appeals, exhortations, solemn warnings, tributes, massive features and tiny gossip parts: every variety of shape, size and substance.

Why then, engage in a *récherche des mots perdus*? Surely the glory of journalism is its transience. Let ridiculous dons — a Rowse, a Leavis — persuade themselves that their convoluted sentences will continue to assail posterity as they have defenceless undergraduates in their lifetime. The journalist may take a snar view. He knows that what he writes exists only to be melted down and dispersed like the metal on which it is stamped. Each night the same climax reached, with the same languid aftermath.

The rotary presses beginning to turn, like a heart ardently beating, poring over damp, limp galleys, shouting, pushing, heaving, and lo! the edition is out. In the grey morning light, hands push it through letter-boxes, deposit it beside milk bottles. Then, propped up on breakfast tables, read rocking to and fro in railway carriages, gymnastically held up to view in buses, by midday at the latest, finished and thrown aside, the forthright useful only for lighting fires, wrapping fish and stopping broken windows.

With all its frustrations and limitations, I cannot imagine engaging in any other profession. Some of the excitement has survived from the first time, so many years ago now, that I opened a newspaper and read in it words I had written. From earliest childhood it always seemed to me that the only thing worth doing in life was to write. Before I knew my letters I had a printing-set, and delighted in their shapes even though I could not identify them. It was part of the romanticism, not to say priggishness, of my generation to consider all artistic and scholarly achievements as infinitely preferable to any others; to the point that even now it seems to me quite extraordinary when someone with intellectual pretensions expresses admiration for a geologist or a mathematician or a politician as such.

It all began for me in Cross Street, Manchester, with the (as it then was) *Manchester Guardian*, under C.P. Scott; a venerable but

still sprightly figure in his eighties, with pink cheeks, a ribald beard and bright eyes. At his behest, my leader-writers produced our nightly offerings, conscious — I dare say too conscious — of being the voice of reason and righteousness in an unreasonable, unrighteous world.

Many an uplifting sentence did I tap out and lay on Scott's desk, expressing the hope that moderate men of all shades of opinion would draw together, and that wiser counsels might yet prevail. The people of this country, I thundered, will not tolerate — just precisely what I now forget.

The next scene of my incubations was Moscow, where I acted as *Guardian* correspondent. Here, hopes that wiser counsels might yet prevail were difficult, if not impossible, to sustain, and moderate men of all shades of opinion had a way of disappearing into Lubianka Prison, never to be seen again. Stalin, I came to realise, was no C.P. Scott. In the shadow of the Kremlin, my typewriter acquired a shrill, querulous note.

After a time in Calcutta, I transferred to Shoe Lane to toil on the late Lord Beaverbrook's behalf on the *Evening Standard* Londoner's Diary. No-one's education is complete without a spell as a gossip writer. How otherwise is it possible to know the minutiae of human vanity; that passion which, in the Century of the Common Man, to a greater or lesser extent afflicts everyone: to be known as an uncommon man?

Round the corner from Shoe Lane stands the office of *The Daily Telegraph*, where the first Lord Camrose devised, with great skill and acumen, the perfect reading-matter to occupy a stockbroker between Turnbridge Wells Central and Cannon Street. There I managed to lurk with a degree of ease and satisfaction, first in the Fleet Street office, and then in Washington. My typewriter tapped sturdily away, competing with the tickertape in the corner, which likewise tapped sturdily away, ejecting great yellow piles of news upon which, from time to time, I had to make desperate assaults.

Next I became editor of *Punch*. It was a sombre place, haunted by old jokes and lost laughter. Life, as I was to discover, holds no more wretched occupation than trying to make the English laugh, and it was with relief that I went past the figure of Mr Punch and out through the door for the last time. Never again would I be under the professional necessity of being funny.

The succeeding years have been singularly happy ones. There is nothing serious under the sun except love, of fellow-mortals and of God. Everything is ridiculous, says ecstasy. So, at any rate, should like to think and feel and write during the brief span which still remains to me.

This is an edited extract from the introduction to *Tread Softly for You Tread on My Jokes* (1966).

...and moreover

CLEMENT FREUD

Brand's AI Sauce label was best, people used not to mind sitting waiting for food in cafes when there was so much to learn from the bottle: it told of George Brand, master chef to King George III, who "was always trying to tickle the Royal palate with new and mouthwatering creations. One day he produced a sauce of rare succulence; 'Brand', said the king, 'this sauce is AI'. And so it has remained to this day."

A number of things about this narrative worried me: the state of the monarch's mind at the time of the occurrence (he officially lost his marbles in 1788), also whether chef Brand was standing in the royal dining room or His Majesty was eating in the kitchen — details like that, but it was a good read.

I mention this because Lee and Perrins Worcestershire Sauce has a new message on its label. The sauce "has always been a name to conjure with", it now declares. The French, who recently bought the company, could do little else with the name, for "W" is not a letter in common use among our friends at the optimistic end of the tunnel. "Double V comme William," is how you begin when asked to spell Worcestershire, though on reflection I don't know too many French Williams. Our Shakespeare springs to mind, "S comme Suzanne, H comme Henri, A comme Anatol..." My *Harrap's New Shorter French/English Dictionary* devotes less than half a page to words commencing with W. There is *wagon*, as in *wagon-bus*, *wagon-lit* and *wagon-restauration*; then *walkover*, like *walkover when there is no contest*, as will not occur next Tuesday. Also *water* — "où sont les waters?" meaning "where is the toilet?" Then *weekend*, *western*, *wharf*, *whisky*, *wig-wam* and *wolfart*. On the French keyboard "W" loses the top-row position it has on a QWERTY.

I liked HP sauce because of the good picture of the Houses of Parliament on the label; this has now shrunk, and the words "When Garton's HP Sauce was first invented over 80 years ago

it was an immediate success... HP sauce is also sold in 100 countries" is the work of a tired copywriter, in a different league from the one who laboured lovingly on green label sauce: "Since our founder A.J. Sharwood first astonished the world with his green label chutney, there has been nothing quite to equal that taste..."

Burgess finest Mushroom Ketchup label ignores history, concentrates on uses — "As a marinade" it suggests (meaning marinade) — and lists ingredients. These have to be stated in order of plentitude. In Burgess's, water is first, mushrooms second; I hope it was a close-run thing.

The new trend in label-writing is intended to persuade the consumer of the responsible and environmentally-conscious attitude of the manufacturer. I would like to put in a word for Sainsbury's South Seas Tuna Steak in Soy Sauce, "specially selected from Pacific catches", which makes one wonder who sells the stuff they reject. "Sainsbury's tuna", it continues, "is caught with a pole and line, thus avoiding danger to other marine life". Being a Pacific tuna sounds like real fun when Sainsbury's folk are around.

The most memorable words were those on the liquorice allsorts packets of my youth: Bertie Bassett, a hard-working North Country confectioner, one afternoon served a small boy with a twist of desiccated coconut, then sold a half-porth of liquorice to another child. He was a tidy man, was Bassett, and on seeing small spillages of the two sweets on his counter, he wetted his finger, picked up the morsels and popped them in his mouth. "Delicious," he said, and built a factory.

It was fairly stuff and I spent many years popping digestive foodstuffs into my mouth, hoping to discover something for the production of which I could build a factory. The nearest I came was when I dropped a salted cashew nut into a glass of Benedictine — which did quite a lot for the not though-insufficient to start a business.

Why I challenge Thatcher

Michael Heseltine is offering himself as leader of the Conservative party on the grounds that he can reach voters whom Mrs Thatcher can no longer reach.

He argues that he has the experience of friendly but effective persuasion in European negotiations that can transform Britain's relations with the EC and so win for us a voice in the shaping of economic and monetary union, in the process preserving London's status as Europe's most important financial centre.

His ministerial record, he says, shows that he could conduct a more genuine form of cabinet government than Mrs Thatcher does, his years on the backbenches since leaving the cabinet over the Westland affair in 1986 have enabled him to widen his contacts, especially at the grassroots level, and develop his thinking.

Why would the Conservatives have a better hope under him than under a leader who had already won three elections?

"I will be able to establish in the cabinet a policy for Europe behind which the overwhelming majority of the parliamentary party can unite. Mrs Thatcher made a remarkable contribution to the 1980s, but in the way of things, the young generation in particular is looking to the '90s for at least a new style, at least a new language. Opinion polls tell us that if I were leader of the party, we would regain the votes of a very substantial number of people who used to vote Conservative but now say they won't as long as Mrs Thatcher is leader."

Asked what qualities he would bring to the job, Mr Heseltine says that is not something easy for him to answer. "I have taken pride in the fact that Mrs Thatcher thought I was an appropriate person to be environment secretary, one of the great home departments, responsible for many environmental services and the acute difficulties of urban poverty. Then, in the light of my performance there, she felt I was the right person to be secretary of state for defence, and she reappointed me after the 1983 election."

"I have a very considerable experience both of administering the largest government departments and of communicating government policy in a way that was recognised at the time as successful. I was at the forefront of the 1979 election campaign. I was responsible for the policy of selling council houses, which was announced in my constituency on the eve of the election battle."

"In 1983 I played a critical role in countering the arguments of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. "I have been able to articulate not just the virtues of government policies, but something of the philosophy that underlies the long process of the Conservative party. One of the reasons I now receive far more invitations to speak to Conservatives locally than I had as a minister is that I have been able to widen my political contacts and deepen my political philosophy in a way that is difficult for serving ministers."

Asked if his appeal lies in his ability to win, rather than in his policies, Mr Heseltine says: "Winning is fundamental. There is little purpose in opposition politics if you never have the opportunity to carry out ideas. But winning is not enough. Britain has to come to terms with great political and environmental changes and to forge a new relationship with our EC partners. "We must learn to live within the institutions that bind us together, because we can gain



Heseltine at his London home yesterday, declaring his intention to seek the Tory leadership

Michael Heseltine, interviewed by Robin Oakley, sets out his qualifications to unite Conservative MPs on Europe and to win back disaffected voters

more inside those institutions than we can outside.

"If you are going to be members of a club, a team or a partnership, the only way to promote your self-interest is by persuading your colleagues. If you are in a minority of one, you may have protected an essential interest but you have not added to it by persuading your colleagues to change their ways to accommodate wider opportunity for all."

Mr Heseltine gives specific examples of his record on European cooperation to Britain's benefit. "I have had very substantial experience in winning for Britain in Europe. Creating the European Space Agency was my idea. Out of that Britain achieved leadership in communications satellite. I was responsible for negotiating the sale of Tornado aircraft to Saudi Arabia as a European project and was successful in persuading Germany, Italy and Spain to back the British Aerospace European Fighter Aircraft when they were previously inclined to back the French. None of this could have happened unless I had established first-class relationships with politicians of the countries concerned. No one ever accused me of selling out British interests."

On economic and monetary union, Mr Heseltine says his whole approach is geared to helping to maintain the City of London as the world's third most important financial centre. "I cannot conceive of us maintaining that position outside EMU. I believe we have to be powerful contributors to the debate about reform of EMU. It is the only way Britain can win, and I don't apologise for these nationalistic attitudes. I learned them after long hours of negotiation with my European colleagues."

Bernard Levin's column has been held over.

What are the essential differences between him and Mrs Thatcher on Europe?

"Britain is committed by treaty and act of Parliament to the vague concepts of EMU. There is nothing new here. But I don't find it necessary to describe these concepts in language designed to prevent people from taking them seriously, rather than persuading them to explore whether evolution is possible."

"As our European colleagues are going to do this thing whether we like it or not, and as the City of London's future is at stake in what they decide, I don't regard it as appropriate to use the terminology of getting on or off trains. It is a fight to preserve what we have."

But what of national sovereignty? Which areas of policy would he wish to see preserved for individual nations to decide for themselves? And where would he apply the doctrine of subsidiarity?

This, he says, can be decided only in terms of attitude. Each issue must be decided on merit as it comes up. "Where something can best be determined at national level, so be it. Maybe it is better to decide some things even more locally than that. It is one of the arguments I used on council house sales, precisely because you are pushing power to the rim. That is a philosophy I strongly support."

Where does he think cabinet government has broken down?

"The arguments Geoffrey Howe so devastatingly deployed are very similar to those of Nigel Lawson in his resignation speech and are reminiscent of my own departure four years ago. The similarities are not a coincidence."

"Mrs Thatcher has strong views on Europe which I do not believe reflect those of her cabinet. If they did, we would not have seen those resignations. If, after a proper dialogue, she had agreed with her cabinet a European policy to which all remained committed,

there would not have been any problems."

"As Sir Geoffrey pointed out, for us all to back John Major over the hard cut — as I did and many colleagues did — only to hear the prime minister say that she doesn't think it would work, is to put the Chancellor in a difficult negotiating position by alerting the Europeans whom he has to persuade to how little credibility the British government sees in what he is saying."

But would a cabinet under Mr Heseltine be any less autocratic?

"Anyone who has looked at my style of management in two of the largest departments knows I am much given to evoking ideas, consulting widely, listening carefully and then reaching a decision. That attitude to management was embodied in the systems I introduced to Whitehall. It was essentially about full exposure of information and a detailed dialogue about it. That is my style."

Does he feel it is fair to describe him as a businessman's politician harking back to the corporatism of the 1960s?

"No. I shake my head in disbelief. Such accusations were conjured out of the air after I left the government by people who were not around then or who had forgotten what I did. No one ran down the number of civil servants faster than I did — 13,000 at the Department of Environment over four years. No one killed off more quangos — half of those I took on in 1979. No one subjected defence industries to more competition than I did, securing dramatic improvements in value for money."

"I was responsible for the foundation stone of privatisation programme, the sale of council houses. I was the person who persuaded the cabinet to legislate for contractor management as a new form of privatisation in the royal dockyards. I was also

responsible for the foundation of enterprise agencies across the country."

"It was I who brought the private sector back into the battle to fight urban squalor. This yielded hundreds of millions of pounds in addition to what the public sector could afford."

"If people think selling Tornadoes, creating the European Fighter Aircraft and backing the Airbus is corporatism, then I have to say that as I travel the world, I find that our competitors shake their heads with disbelief at a country that is fighting for its economic life yet indulges in such semantics."

One issue on which Mr Heseltine hopes to appeal to MPs is revision of the poll tax, which he says menaces many Conservative seats. But how would he change it?

He cannot argue for effective cabinet government, he says, and at the same time offer a blueprint for change in the middle of a leadership election. "But," he goes on, "I believe that in the fundamental review that is necessary for the fortunes of the party electorally, there should be two thoughts. One is that the community charge must be seen to be fair and must therefore reflect people's ability to pay. The second is that if when we investigate it we decide that there is no substantial alternative way to deal with the problem, we might consider transferring educational costs in whole or in part to central government over a period of time as economic growth makes this possible."

Mr Heseltine says that reform of the poll tax runs alongside the growing preoccupation with standards of education.

"If we look at the more deprived areas, it must be apparent that in addressing the quality issue, the present relationship between central and local government does not look promising. The social infrastructure of those communities does not make them a natural recruiting ground for people who are going to take over local management of the schools. We might have to adopt a greater urgency and take on more responsibility in central government, to bring the insistence on standards that is essential for our competitive future."

With some ministers prepared to play the Gulf card, what of the accusation that it is unpatriotic for him to make his challenge at a time when British troops are engaged abroad?

He responded: "The views I have publicly expressed on the Gulf are identical to the views of the prime minister and the Foreign Secretary." On that vital enterprise there would be no change of policy.

Now that Mr Heseltine has embarked on his challenge to Mrs Thatcher after four years outside her government, and with relations between them cooler than ever, was there anything Mrs Thatcher might have said to him as he walked out of her cabinet in 1986 that would have induced him to turn round and rejoin the team?

"Yes," he replied: "She could have said 'Let's discuss it'."

In the forthcoming contest, might not the party suffer if Mrs Thatcher were wounded without being ousted?

What then would be gained for the party? Mr Heseltine maintains simply that "Sir Geoffrey Howe's resignation speech raises issues that can be effectively only resolved within the context of a leadership challenge. What he said, is material to our long-term self-interest as a nation."

Will money talk enough?

Only his personal fortune has enabled Michael Heseltine to maintain his five-year bid for the Tory leadership, supporters of his supporters freely admit. With an estimated £60 million, he is the richest man in the Commons, and he is reckoned to have spent at least £100,000 a year on his unofficial campaign since he stalked out of the cabinet in January 1986.

In addition to three office staff at Westminster — more than most members of the shadow cabinet employ — Heseltine has a constituency secretary and a chauffeur. The chauffeur was his official driver when Heseltine was a member of the cabinet and is today perhaps the most important member of the team.

Heseltine often addresses four Conservative associations a week, sometimes at opposite ends of the country. The Jaguar which he traded in for a new model in September had clocked up 72,000 miles on party business in two years. Friday evenings, a favourite for Tory meetings, are booked up 12 months in advance and he does not have a spare lunchtime date until February. Every weekday evening throughout parliamentary sessions is booked for dinners with backbench colleagues or Tory pressure groups. Only on Sundays does he rest.

Sir Anthony Meyer, who devoted far less money and effort to his leadership campaign last year, says: "It has been an intensive campaign of gladiatorial and leader was no fool. "He was already halfway to the Palace", says Pimlott.

For the Conservatives, he points out, the situation is unique, because until 1975 Conservative MPs did not have a vote on the matter. "The irony is that democracy has, until now, made it harder to get rid of an incumbent. If the leader were still chosen by the old secretive system of the party grandees, they would have got rid of her long ago."

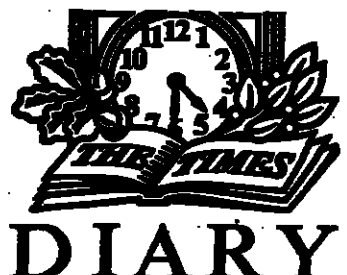
you visit as many towns and cities as possible, eat rubber-chicken dinners and make speeches. It has paid dividends." Today, as his lieutenants at Westminster do the arm-twisting, Heseltine is striding out to the high ground: campaigning in the Tory cause in the two Paisley by-elections.

Making history

Whatever the outcome of his secret challenge to Mrs Thatcher's leadership, it is already clear that no prime minister in recent history has been so openly undermined by those within her own party. "It is hard to think of any precedent," says historian Ben Pimlott, currently writing a biography of Harold Wilson. "There were endless plots against Wilson in the late Sixties, but none ever came to an open contest. Attlee, too, led a cabinet given to intrigue and fought off a number of behind-the-scenes moves to oust him, involving, among others, Dalton, Cripps and George Brown. The nearest any came to success was in 1945 when, immediately after Labour's general election victory, Herbert Morrison argued that Labour MPs should vote on the leadership before forming a government. But Attlee was no fool. "He was already halfway to the Palace", says Pimlott.

Trouville trouville

The evocative feel of the seaside in Monet's masterpiece *The Beach at Trouville*, due to go on display at the National Gallery later this month, is, it seems, the result of more than



simply oil on canvas.

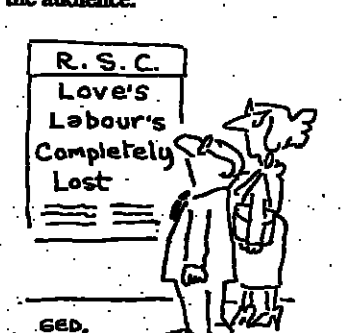
"A great variety of multi-coloured shell fragments were discovered under the microscope. We discovered that the whole picture is speckled with sand," says John Leighton, the curator of 19th-century paintings, after cleaning the painting. Originally the sand was touched out after the painting was completed in 1870, and disguised by a layer of coloured varnish. Near the bottom of the canvas, which depicts Monet's wife and the wife of the painter Eugene Boudin sitting by the beach, are three especially thick sand clusters that look like fingerprints.

"The sand is really very obvious and quite dramatic. It not only provides a physical record of the painter's presence, but reinforces the spontaneity of the image," says Leighton. But while most of the sand lies on the top of the paint surface, some particles were mixed in with the paint. "It seems Monet probably got sand on his palette and on the painting while he worked on the beach."

Alas, poor William

The Barbican bosses may not know it yet, but the RSC is back in town and about to perform the entire canon of Shakespeare plays at the Lillian Baylis Theatre. But before booking your seats, be warned. This is the Reduced Shakespeare Company. Comprising three American actors, it decided to step into the breach when the lights went out on the other RSC at the Barbican.

The Complete Works of William Shakespeare (abridged), which goes on stage next month, consists of the Bard's works boiled down into a two-hour presentation. "There are 36 plays before the interval and one play afterwards," says a spokeswoman. "Each play is treated differently. *Romeo and Juliet* is done as a Marx Brothers routine, while *Titus Andronicus* becomes a gourmet cookery demonstration." *Hamlet* gets what is described as a special "audience participation" treatment. "Yes," says the spokeswoman, "York gets clucked into the audience."



Homeward bound

To add to President Gorbachev's troubles, the outspoken dissident Vladimir Bukovsky intends returning to Moscow to join in the agitation against the president's beleaguered regime. Bukovsky, who lives in Cambridge, spent 12 years in a Soviet prison before he was expelled in handcuffs in 1977 in exchange for an imprisoned Chilean communist. In exile he has continued his attacks and remains unimpressed by glasnost.

"I am one of the few people in the West who believe Gorbachev is a scoundrel trying to save his skin and as much of the existing system as possible," he says. Next week he attends a meeting in Strasbourg organised by Tory MEP Lord Bethell at which he will discuss opposition to Gorbachev with three anti-communist members of the Supreme Soviet. Whether or not Bukovsky makes it to Moscow depends on the Supreme Soviet nullifying his official categorisation as a state criminal; without that, he runs the risk of being required to complete the six years outstanding on his original prison sentence. Boris Yeltsin has told Bukovsky that a draft law should have been passed enabling him to travel by the end of the year. But not even Yeltsin escapes the lash of Bukovsky's tongue. "He says he wants to form a coalition government with Gorbachev. That's the stupidest thing he could do, and I have no intention of helping him."

Discord of time

Among the tributes to Malcolm Muggeridge comes one from someone who did not speak to him for 17 years, the novelist Anthony Powell. Previously close friends, they fell out over Muggeridge's savage review of Powell's *The Valley of Bones* in 1964. Happily the estrangement ended when Powell wrote in flattering terms of Muggeridge's diaries, *Like It Was*, in 1981.

Powell, now 84, recalls: "He wrote me a line afterwards and was very funny and agreeable about it. He was a tricky customer who could have sudden, unexpected rows with people close to him. But he could be tremendously amusing, with wonderful qualities. I didn't approve, though, of all those photographs of him on his knees praying."

While Nigel Lawson, Sir Norman Fowler and other former cabinet colleagues were much in evidence for Sir Geoffrey Howe's Commons speech on Tuesday, one recent casualty was notably absent: Nicholas Ridley. Given the circumstances of his resignation, the reason for his absence could hardly have been more inappropriate. He was in Brussels, visiting a mint where the ecu coin is produced.

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1 Pennington Street, London E1 9XN Telephone 071-782 5000

GROUNDWORK FOR DIVORCE?

The contest for the Conservative leadership should not have been necessary. It arose as a result of Giulio Andreotti's mismanagement of the Rome summit in October and the resulting shambles over economic union. Hardly since Pope Clement VII refused to allow Henry VIII to divorce Catherine of Aragon has British politics been so shaken by events in Rome. Although some other European leaders privately shared her frustration, Margaret Thatcher's intemperate reaction in the House of Commons to her treatment in Rome came when she was most vulnerable to critics at home — and just far enough ahead of the next election to make a challenge plausible.

Now that there is to be a fight, the Conservative party should make the best of it. Compared with other constitutional systems, the mantle of leadership in British politics rests securely on the shoulders of its wearers. No lasting harm need be done by putting that leadership to an occasional test in the electoral college of the party system.

In former times, Conservative leaders suffered from hostile conspiracy in the private corridors and clubrooms of Westminster. Such disagreement as might exist between them and their colleagues was shared only between the party's great and good. The reforms that brought Edward Heath to power in 1965 — establishing Tory MPs as the electoral college for the party leadership — forced such disagreement into the open.

But parties usually eject their leaders only in opposition, as Mrs Thatcher ousted Mr Heath in 1975. Never in modern times has a prime minister faced so direct a challenge by a leading opponent within the same party as Mrs Thatcher does today. The parliamentary Conservative party is to stage a full-blown primary contest for the leadership in what is clearly the run-up to the next election. The electorate for this primary may be a closed one, but the campaign will be painfully open.

Mr Heseltine has declared, as needs he must, that the issue between himself and Mrs Thatcher is one of style. Such is the cohesive character of modern Conservatism that for him to declare a deep ideological fissure within three years of fighting an election alongside her would look odd. Like Sir Geoffrey Howe and

various other Thatcher refuseniks, Mr Heseltine has made something of Mrs Thatcher's handling of Europe. But wary of getting lost in murky Euro-metaphor and jargon, he most emphasises that Mrs Thatcher's alleged shortcomings are those of vision and temperament rather than substance.

Yesterday Mr Heseltine also brought up the bugbear of the poll tax. His promise to seek its swift revision must have put joy into the hearts of dozens of hard-pressed Tory backbenchers. As the Bradford by-election showed, the tax has not lost its odium at the hustings, even if opinion surveys indicate that it may be overtaken by interest rates in the concerns of the wider electorate. Mr Heseltine has always sought sanity in local government finance, so in this he has a strong suit to play.

Mrs Thatcher will meet the challenge with the vigour and strength that comes from incumbency. She is sound in body and mind. She has a programme which, though looking a little tired and unradical, is backed by her unshakable belief in economic non-intervention, sound money and personal incentive. She will argue that she received a mandate in 1979, has had it twice renewed, and wishes to see it through. Those of her followers who do not like her style can choose to ignore it and concentrate on the substance of her policies — they have known about her style long enough. On the substance, they stood and fought three elections, and won them. Whether this argument washes will determine the outcome of the contest. Politics is about style as much as substance, for style attracts electors and thereby legitimises political power.

The Conservative party has been at its most potent when led by leaders capable of evincing a strong personal response from the public — Disraeli, Baldwin, Churchill and, indeed, Mrs Thatcher — none of whom was quite at home with the arts of the clubroom. But even the party's strongest leaders must eventually give way to a successor. Mrs Thatcher has shown scant mercy to both her colleagues and her parliamentary supporters of late. Now it is on their mercy that she must throw herself. In the next few days, *The Times* will examine to what extent that mercy is merited.

HIGH NOON IN BRUSSELS

The meeting tomorrow in Brussels between the European Community and the American officials in charge of the Gatt's Uruguay round of negotiations to liberalise world trade must not be allowed to fail. For after four years of talks, only three weeks now remain in which to rescue the round from collapse.

Should that happen, the costs in terms of the lost opportunity to free trade in agriculture, services and 13 other areas would be enormous. The chance to develop more effective rules for settling trade disputes would be lost. The postwar trading system would be severely weakened. Trade wars would be inevitable, eliminating many of the past gains achieved under the Gatt. Competitive subsidies and other protectionist barriers would proliferate, setting back for years the cause of global economic integration.

There would be political costs too. The EC's international standing would suffer, because if the round fails, the Community will be squarely blamed. Difficulties persist in many of the sectors covered by the talks, notably in services. But the main stumbling-block is agriculture, where the real obstacle to agreement is the EC's spineless obedience to its farming lobbies.

The EC had four years in which to respond to demands by the US and the 14-nation Cairns Group of agricultural exporters to phase out trade-distorting farm subsidies. Having dithered until last week, it produced an offer which fell short even of its own commitments to "progressive and substantial reductions". Where the EC's trade partners seek deep cuts, Brussels offers only a 15 per cent drop below existing levels. Underlying this is the refusal of the EC to admit that the common agricultural policy has had its day, and that the only real question is how quickly it can be phased out.

The EC offer would continue to protect

European farmers against imports (sheltering beef producers, for example, behind an 88 per cent tariff wall). It would raise some tariffs and maintain EC export subsidies, the most trade-distorting form of payments. Not surprisingly, when this lame horse was entered into the running last weekend, it fell at the first fence.

At the White House on Tuesday President Bush elicited a pledge from Jacques Delors and the current president of the European Council, Giulio Andreotti, to make every effort to salvage the talks. That promise will be put to the test tomorrow, when the US agriculture secretary, Clayton Yeutter, and Carla Hills, the US trade representative, arrive in Brussels.

If a compromise is to be cobbled from this travesty of a negotiation, the European Community has to meet the others at least halfway. Ray MacSharry, the EC agriculture commissioner, now says that the US and the EC are in reality close to agreement, the main difference being their methods of calculation. He failed to say why, if so, the EC refuses to save the talks by adopting the US proposals as a basis for negotiations.

Agriculture, which accounts for 5 per cent of EC exports and less than a tenth of its workforce, cannot dictate EC policy in this critical negotiation. Britain has argued steadily for a realistic offer. But France and Germany, riveted by the EC's designs for European integration, have behaved with as much parochialism as they are apt to accuse Mrs Thatcher of exhibiting. In London this week Mr Yeutter transposed John Donne's famous words about no man being an island. Today, he said, each nation is "a part of the economic main, a piece of the Continent of man". At this eleventh hour, the EC must set aside its preoccupations with its own continent and meet the challenge those words throw out.

REVOLUTION WITHOUT ROOTS

Mrs Thatcher fights on, but how strong is Thatcherism? The British Social Attitudes survey, published today, suggests that it still only goes skin deep. Individualism, entrepreneurship and a belief in traditional morality, the main articles of the Thatcherite creed, have simply failed to establish themselves. The revolution she sought has not taken root. Attitudes are unchanged, British life flows on, and the culture remains curiously unaffected.

Take self-employment, often cited as a measure of the entrepreneurial spirit. Self-employment increased sharply in the 1980s, from about 8 per cent of the workforce to more than 13 per cent now, an apparent franking of Thatcherite claims. But the survey's analysis suggests that the growth of self-employment is wholly due to economic necessity. People would still prefer good, old-fashioned jobs.

Or take another touchstone of Thatcherism, the desire to reduce, while reforming, the welfare state. The BSA study shows clear majority support — including, for the first time, among Conservative voters — for raising taxes to fund increased public expenditure. More money for the health service is seen as the overwhelming priority. Very few want to see a further winding of the Chancellor's knife.

This raises a question mark over some of the central rhetoric (if not the practice, since spending on the health service has actually increased since 1979 by 50 per cent) of the Thatcher years. It explains why, good politicians all, departmental ministers boast like mad about how much more the state is spending, while the Treasury boasts how tough the limits are. Labour might do well to take note. Fearful of being labelled spendthrift, Labour has shied away from expounding more public spending. Yet that is what Labour governments are traditionally supposed to be

about. In this instance at least, Mr Kinnock may be too cautious for his own good.

The development of public opinion on family matters is less clear-cut. The traditional nuclear family is no longer the statistical norm but nostalgia for it persists. Having two children is regarded as optimal. They should be reared by a couple living together, and preferably married, with the mother staying home to look after them. Yet only a small, mainly elderly minority still holds to the view held by most people in 1980 that husbands should work and women should look after the home, children or no children.

The BSA study is authoritative and now runs as an impressive time series over seven years. Yet it is still based to a large extent on responses to "feel-good" questions, those to which positive answers can be given without fear of personal and especially economic consequences. Notoriously, people want better services much more than they want to pay higher taxes to fund them.

Moreover, even in a democratic age, mass opinion is not the sole — or even the chief — indicator of where society stands. Were a society to seek to govern itself by adapting its policy to every whim of public opinion, it would rapidly be faced with contradictions, even breakdown.

Thatcherism as a philosophy has not won the sentimental allegiance of the masses (though, so far, they have been happy enough to back it in the polling booths). It has, however, undeniably shifted elite opinion. Most thinking people today do not believe the same political creed that most thinking people believed a decade ago. That is a trend of Thatcherism which goes deeper and may survive longer than any in today's survey.

Tory leadership in open dispute

From Mr Sydney Shenton
Sir, Europe is a principal issue in the Conservative party's difficulties. Looming behind everything, however, are severe domestic problems: the total disappearance of the economic miracle, deterioration in almost every aspect of public services and associated investment, greater social differences than at any time since Victorian days.

Opinion polls confirm that about four out of every five of the electorate desire a change of prime minister. Whatever the outcome of the leadership elections, this is a situation the Conservative party cannot possibly ignore. What Sir Geoffrey Howe has reminded us all about, however, in vivid words, is the extra dimension to the European venture.

Conspicuous by its absence from Mrs Thatcher's whole approach has been the vision of unity, the working together of all the nations and communities of the EC for mutual benefit, the richer helping the poorer, the realisation of secure peace for the Continent for future generations, an example of stability and co-operation for the whole world.

It is regrettable that these aims of unity and social cohesion vouchsafed by the prime minister when she took office have fallen by the wayside. Her failure of transfer and exposition of these aims to the new Europe look like being of major significance in her immediate and future standing.

Sincerely,
SYDNEY SHENTON,
95 The Crescent,
Davenport,
Stockport, Cheshire.
November 14.

From Mr Gerhard Spanier

Sir, Tory MPs and the media seem to be concerned only with the effects of the leadership crisis on the fortunes of the Conservative party in general and, in the case of Mr P, especially on the outcome of the next general election. The fact that their decision also determines the premiership and the international representation of this country seems to be of no concern to them.

Yours faithfully,
G. SPANIER,
549 Middle Road, Ravenhill,
Swansea, West Glamorgan.
November 11.

From Mr Lewis Stretch

Sir, MPs are representatives, not delegates, and so are entitled to vote in accordance with their judgment and conscience. Yet the corollary is that they must stand up and be counted, so that those they represent can judge whether they are fit to do so.

Ought not the arrangements for electing party leaders to be open to

similar scrutiny? The lack of such accountability in the present Conservative party system denies many who have voted them into office the information needed for reconsidering their verdict. Yet such a facility is vital when major issues transcend and may split party allegiances.

Yours faithfully,
LEWIS STRETCH,
1 Manor Close,
Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire.
November 12.

From Mr R. G. Ventress

Sir, When choosing a leader, the Conservative party ensures that he or she obtains an overall majority in any third ballot by transferring second-choice votes to the two remaining candidates.

Would some helpful member of the party please explain why I, as an ordinary voter, have to use a first-past-the-post system which does not ensure that the winner has an "overall" majority?

Yours faithfully,
R. G. VENTRESS,
6 Fincham Close,
Linton, Cambridgeshire.
November 14.

From Mr J. C. L. Keswick

Sir, From my observation the prime minister is not anti-Europe, but she does understand British self-interest.

The strength of self-interest is not always understood and is often attacked by self-seekers. No one could accuse the prime minister of being a self-seeker. Perhaps the media could change their attack to the self-seekers.

Yours faithfully,
CHIPS KESWICK (Chairman),
Hambors Bank Limited,
41 Tower Hill, EC3.
November 14.

From Sir Charles Tidbury

Sir, This country needs Mrs Thatcher's leadership and determination. Look where Britain has come in 11 years. Of course there have been some mistakes. No one could avoid that when so much has been done.

Don't let us talk of abandoning our leader and pilot just when we need her most, when both she and we are entering some very rough water. She deserves and needs support.

Yours sincerely,
CHARLES TIDBURY,
20 Queen Anne's Gate,
Westminster, SW1.
November 13.

From Mr W. E. Gofton-Watson

Sir, What guarantee do we have that, if the prime minister is given out, she will walk?

Yours faithfully,
W. E. GOFTON-WATSON,
6 Belmont,
Shrewsbury, Shropshire.
November 13.

From the Chief Executive of Channel 4 Television

Sir, I hope that the chairman of News International will not accuse me of being emotional if I quietly draw attention to two important points in his well-honed letter on the BSB/Sky merger (November 12).

First, we should not be seduced by his vision of the theoretical free market in satellite television, promising future expansion of choice on the Astra satellite. The recent merger itself demonstrates that there is not room for two major profitable satellite services in Britain. If there were, then why the shotgun marriage?

Second, if, as Mr Knight declares, Sky will from January 1 abide by the ITC's regulatory framework, then surely he must accept that the 20 per cent restriction on cross-media ownership forms an integral and necessary component, creating a level playing field for all players. News International may only "own" 35 per cent of the press, but that in itself unfairly penalises its television competitors who are legally prohibited from such linkages.

Yours faithfully,
MICHAEL GRADE,
Chief Executive,
Channel 4 Television,
60 Charlotte Street, W1.

Desserts and diet

From Mr H. G. Button
Sir, How can Mrs Eileen Blacklock (November 6) describe fresh fruit and sorbets as "a pudding"? The very word suggests something weighty, such as Ginger Sponge and Spotted Dog. These are puddings.

Yours faithfully,
HENRY G. BUTTON,
7 Amburst Road,
Grange Court, Cambridge.

Morality of divorce

From Rabbi Dr Sidney Brichio
Sir, You are right (leading article, November 2) to support the Law Commission's suggested reforms to the divorce law. Your write that "they indicate the rational and realistic direction in which the law should move". I would submit that the proposals are justified on moral and religious grounds as well.

The breakdown of marriage is tragic not only after separation but within the marital bond. It leads to distrust, frustration and bitterness which spills off in relationships which go beyond husband and wife. No one suffers more than the children whose future is blighted by the patterns of relationships which have been their model during the formative years of personality development.

In this situation any proposals which call for a cooling-off period of one year rather than the attempt

Cant and clarity on global gases

From Sir Ian Lloyd, MP for Havant (Conservative)

Sir, Nigel Hawkes ("Is this really a scientist speaking?", November 8) accuses the prime minister of accepting "cant on global warming" and describes the issue as an "inverted pyramid of implications resting on a handful of facts". Judging merely by the evidence presented at the Council of Europe conference in Ottawa in June and at the British Association meeting in Swansea in August, it is some handful.

As chairman of the board of the Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology, charged with providing parliament with objective advice on such issues, I would like to comment on the way in which policy-makers have to deal with such scientific issues and the uncertainties involved.

Some things are clear. There is a greenhouse effect and a sizeable one — otherwise this planet would not be habitable. We also know without dispute which gases cause it and that they are increasing through man's activities. Since we know that greenhouse gases cause more of the Sun's radiation to be retained by the Earth and its atmosphere, the conclusion that the average temperature of the world will rise as greenhouse gases increase is not just "plausible" but highly probable.

Beyond this, there is considerable uncertainty — how much will the temperature rise and how fast, the effects on sea level, the absorptive capacity of the deep ocean, local climate, etc. The models can only be viewed as a tool, not a certain predictor. Policy-makers are thus left to decide what actions (if any) to take in the face of such uncertainty.

Political responses to the threat of global warming have fallen into two broad camps — those who call for more scientific understanding before considering action, and those who call for action on the basis of evidence so far gathered. Both are rational responses. However, one important facet of the greenhouse effect is the considerable delay between cause and effect.

Thus the full effects of doubling carbon dioxide concentrations by the year 2030 would not be felt on sea levels for centuries. Equally, similar delays would be encountered between controls on greenhouse gases and realising any benefits therefrom. Additionally, some changes appear likely to be irreversible — e.g., loss of tropical forests leads to a hotter and drier local climate, making recovery difficult.

From the policy-makers' viewpoint, therefore, the risk of waiting five to 15 years for better science and unambiguous evidence of the scale of global warming is that we may commit future generations to

drastic actions to undo the accumulated warming put in the pipeline. Equally, the remaining uncertainties are such as to caution against draconian and costly immediate measures which may prove to be unnecessary.

There has thus been widespread support (including by parliamentary select committees) for measures which are justified in their own right but will also help to curtail global warming (e.g., slowing deforestation and population growth, increasing energy efficiency).

The prime minister's advocacy of the latter measures and the establishment of an international mechanism for additional controls if needed later is thus an entirely rational precautionary response. Your science editor does no service to objective debate by suggesting otherwise.

Yours sincerely,
IAN LLOYD (Chairman),
Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology,
2 Linde Smith Street, SW1.
From Professor Emeritus R. P. Pearce

Sir, Your science editor criticises the prime minister for accepting the considered view of the majority of atmospheric scientists concerning global warming. His grounds are that, in the first place, observations do not show conclusive evidence for it; and secondly that atmospheric models, the main tools used in climatic prediction, are not fully proven. (Incidentally, Mr Hawkes's statement that they predict a much higher rate of warming than has so far been observed is misleading — a more recent model, taken into account by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climatic Change, includes the deep ocean and produces results in close agreement with the observed rate of warming since the industrial revolution.)

What does he suggest the prime minister should have done? Ignore the whole thing until the observational evidence is indisputable on models completely reliable, despite the grave risk that if IPCC is right by then it would be too late to stave off disasters on a global scale? She will undoubtedly have taken note of the uncertainties in the scientific case, highlighted in her decision, essentially a political one, to take a lead over international action.

In simply stressing the scientific uncertainties, your science editor nowhere faces up to this fundamental political issue. His article surely cannot therefore be taken seriously as a criticism of the prime minister.

Yours sincerely,
ROBERT P. PEARCE,
27 Coppell Hall Way,
Cambridge, Surrey.

Bridleway evidence

From Mr George Laurence

Sir, Caroline Clayden (October 31) raises the problem of the unfriendly cross-examination. An inquiry is typically held under the Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981 where, following the making by the council of an order modifying the definitive map to show a new footpath, bridleway or byway open to all traffic, the landowner objects.

The council can then, and usually does, use a lawyer at the inquiry to defend the making of the order. That lawyer is able, as is the inspector, to ensure that nervous witnesses giving evidence of 20 (not 25, *pace* Mrs Clayden) years' use on horseback are not taken unfair advantage of by the objector's counsel.

It is, however, inevitable that a user's evidence will be rigorously tested where, for example, the objecting landowner believes that the path has rarely been ridden during the requisite period, or at all.

If the result of the cross-examination is to confuse the witness, the inspector will have to decide whether to rely on the evidence was unreliable in the first place. People wishing to avoid the risk of being cross-examined are of course perfectly free to submit an affidavit or statement instead.

However, it is idle for Mrs Clayden to suggest that their evidence should then carry the same weight. The same considerations apply, of course, to objectors.

Yours truly,
GEORGE LAURENCE,
9 Old Square,
Lincoln's Inn, WC2.
November 6.

to fix blame on one of the partners for the breakdown must be applauded. Marriages should not be entered into lightly, not because it is difficult to achieve a divorce but because the pain of loveless marriages can lead to the emotional and moral destruction of human lives.

A rabbinic sage once said that where love exists, "a man and his wife can sleep on the broadside of a sword; where there is no love, the world is not large enough for them". Attempts should be made to educate individuals in maintaining the love which motivated the marriage, but the moral and legal response to the failure of marriage must not be punishment but the most painless extrication from a wretched situation for the couple and their children.

Faithfully yours,
SIDNEY BRICHIO,
The Athenaeum,
Fell Mall, SW1.
November 2.

Philip Larkin's will

From Mr John Hart

Sir, The example of Virgil, cited in Professor Currie's letter (November 5) on the right of an author's executors to destroy his early work, is only doubtfully relevant. Augustus, through the medium of patronage, had paid very heavily in advance for the *Aeneid*, and Virgil had no moral right to will the destruction of the work he had been commissioned to write.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN HART,
Thirlestane House,
Malvern, Worcestershire.

From Dr G. M. Leuty

Sir, Those who want their unpublished work to be destroyed should do it themselves. This might save their executors some anguish, and conserve precious space in your correspondence columns.

Yours prescriptively,
GEORGE LEUTY,
13 Knighton Road,
Woodthorpe, Nottingham.

Cycling in Cambridge

From Councillor R. H. Leggatt

Sir, The cycling ban in central Cambridge has been proposed by the Conservative-controlled county council and not, as stated by your correspondent, John Tyson (November 2), by the city council, which is Labour-controlled.

The city council is firmly opposed to the cycling restrictions. It is committed to improved cycle access in the city, and has built up one of the country's most comprehensive cycleway networks over 25 years. We are working with all sections of the local community to defeat the proposed bike ban, and other environmentally damaging Tory plans, such as new roads and car parks in our fine public open spaces.

Yours etc,
RICK LEGGATT (Chairman),
Environment Committee,
Cambridge City Council,
33 City Road,
Cambridge.
November 2.

Executive role

From Mrs Patricia Napier

Sir, Would the male equivalent of a "young mother to run a charter airline" (headline, November 8) ever be referred to as a "young father"?

Yours faithfully,
PATRICIA NAPIER,
Baynards Manor,
Rugby, West Sussex.
November 8.

Letters to the editor should carry a daytime telephone number. They may be sent to a fax number — (071) 782 5046.

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هكذا من الأصل

The fun and strains of office

Fifty years before Desmond Morris popularised man-watching — the study of people's mannerisms and behaviour as a means of determining their character and motivation — the physician Sir William Osler decreed that the doctor who was unable to sum up a patient between the consulting room door and the inquisition chair by his desk would be more likely to end in Carey Street than Harley Street.

Television has increased the scope of spot diagnosis. Doctors practised in this art are no longer restricted to their own patients, for now the famous are paraded daily for examination on the small screen in their own homes. The study of Saddam Hussein's changing demeanour has been especially rewarding. One well-known London physician says: "Saddam Hussein initially looked like a between-the-wars infantry company commander, only competent and assured because he had a comparatively limited sphere of command. But now he looks like a field officer who has been untimely promoted to command an army. He seems harried and out of his intellectual depth."

The physician adds that he

suspects Saddam is now a man whose lack of self-assurance causes him to become increasingly dependent on top-level advisers. Like many doctors, this physician has noticed that Saddam's blink-rate has quickened, that his previously steady gaze and bland smile have been replaced by fidgeting, darting looks and a strained expression. We do not need a doctor to point out that Saddam's shirts no longer fit (a rough guide is that if a finger can be placed between the shirt collar and the neck of a patient, the patient has lost about a stone), and that his face, once smooth, is now creased and baggy, presumably from disturbed sleep and loss of appetite.

Dr Hugh L'Etang, author of *The Pathology of Leadership and Fit to Lead*, who is acknowledged as Britain's leading expert on the influence of statesmen's health on history, has studied from afar Saddam's avowed antagonist, our own prime minister. In his opinion, Mrs Thatcher has suffered from being trained in a pure rather than a biological science. Her lack of understanding of people is, in his view, the result of being taught to think in terms of scientific certainty represented by chemical symbols, equations and



Rewarding subject for a spot of manwatching: Saddam Hussein

reactions, rather than the study of the infinitely variable reaction of people to events.

Dr L'Etang worries about the prime minister's retirement. "World leaders have tremendous fun, and are usually stimulated by their life. Its strains have been grossly exaggerated, for they are spared the daily round of trivial tasks and worries. Sir Winston Churchill suffered severe depression once he lost the stimulation of the red boxes; Mrs Thatcher will probably behave in a similar way. For her to be pensioned off to Dulwich would be a dreadful fate. She needs a gradual transition to private life. I would prescribe immediate elevation to the Lords once she retires."

Drink and be merry

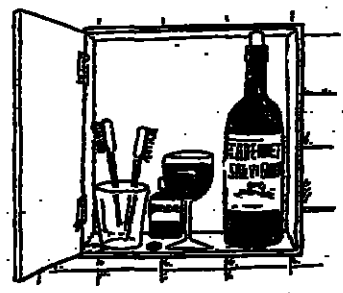
Nobody denies the hazards of excessive drinking. Some doctors are so influenced by the damage it can cause that they close their minds to the overwhelming evidence that small quantities of alcohol prolong rather than limit life, and are forced into trying to explain statisticians' findings with arguablely questionable.

Those who are not averse to a couple of glasses of Chateau

Cissac with their dinner should know that the eminently reputable American journal, *Epidemiology*, reports on a huge survey which convincingly demonstrates the advantages of a small to moderate intake of alcohol.

Between 1959 and 1971 the authors followed 276,802 men aged between 40 and 59. The sensible, moderate drinkers had a 30 per cent reduction in deaths from coronary and thrombotic. Even more remarkably, the light drinkers, taking one or two drinks a day, were also less likely to die from strokes or cancer, the other great killers in this age group.

Dr Curtis Ellison, of the Boston University School of Medicine, sums up these findings. "Based on current knowledge, the American male who does not have a bleeding tendency and is not at increased risk of alcohol abuse, who wants to reduce the risk of heart disease, might well consider the advantages of washing down his daily aspirin with a glass of cabernet." Earlier research involving some 80,000 American nurses shows that similar statistics apply to women.

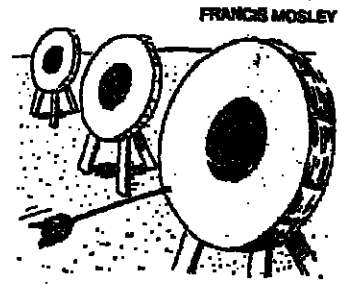


Trendy Shula

It must be pure coincidence that Shula of *The Archers* suffered an ectopic pregnancy, a condition in which the baby is implanted, and starts to grow, in the confined surroundings of the fallopian tube, rather than in the expandable womb, in the same week that the *British Medical Journal's* first leading article was on tubal pregnancies.

The causes of ectopic pregnancy, which is becoming much more common, are legion, and include pelvic surgery, such as that for appendicitis, and the use of intrauterine contraceptive devices. The most important cause is inadequately treated sexually transmitted infection. Nearly 80 per cent of women who suffer an ectopic pregnancy have antibodies to chlamydia, the organism which causes nonspecific urethritis (NSU), and 32 per cent show immunological evidence of past gonorrhoea. Shula's admirers should not forget that when she spurned Mark, he went to the Far East, an area not famed for its continence, while she herself had a few unwise dalliances.

The standard and safe treatment for an ectopic pregnancy is excision of the tube together with its contained pregnancy, but now that ultrasound (including vaginal ultrasound) and sensitive blood testing for pregnancy are



making early diagnosis easier, it is sometimes possible to use conservative surgery. One remarkable example was recently recorded at the Lister hospital in London. A young patient who had given birth to twins 11 months previously consulted Mr John Scurr, a general surgeon, when she developed severe abdominal pain. An ultrasound showed pregnancy successfully developing in the uterus, but Mr Scurr thought that one of the tubes looked suspicious and sought the opinion of Mr Sam Abdalla, a gynaecologist. The surgeons performed a laparoscopic examination, and found that the patient had another twin pregnancy, with one baby in the womb, one in a tube, using the laparoscope they removed the affected tube through a keyhole incision, leaving the baby in the womb undisturbed and one tube intact, enabling her to try, should she wish it, for another baby. Shula can take heart. About 50 per cent of women who have an ectopic pregnancy will have a normal one later, but the sooner she tries the better, because most women who later conceive do so in the first year after surgery.

Can common sense rule the microwaves?

Half the homes in the land own one and the other half seem determined not to. Today a select committee on agriculture will consider the safety of the device in question: the microwave oven.

The committee will be solely concerned with the ability of the ovens to heat food to the temperatures required to kill off food poisoning bacteria. Its investigation follows government-sponsored research published last December which showed that 30 per cent of microwave ovens failed this test. However, market research reveals that the decision to own or not to own a microwave is made for reasons which have little to do with food poisoning.

Detailed interviews carried out by a market research company, Strategic Research Group (SRG), reveal that culinary pride (or snobbery) exerts a powerful influence on whether the gadget is featured in the kitchen. Non-owners believe that there is no emotional satisfaction to be gained from this kind of cooking, and that microwaved foods do not look as appetising as those which are removed from a conventional oven. Some express scorn for those who seem dependent on their microwave, while others express worries about safety.

While microwave users believe their ovens are safe, many non-users fear that dangerous forms of radiation are emitted. Some feel it is unsafe even to look through the oven door while it is in use, or to open the oven to stir the food.

Such fears sound all too familiar to Malcolm Shaw, the deputy director general of the Association of Manufacturers of Domestic Electrical Appliances (AMDEA). "There are people out there who won't have a microwave no matter what you tell them. It was the same with television in the Fifties. Some people thought that if you sat in front of the screen your skin would go green and fall off. As soon as you mention radiation, people's minds shut down."

According to Philip Chad-

wick, the higher scientific officer with the National Radiological Protection Board, microwaves do not normally present a radiation hazard. In addition to their use in cooking, they are used medically to heat muscle tissue, easing the pain of sports injuries, and are produced in industry to cure wood and leather products.

Mr Chadwick explains that there are two main forms of radiation: ionising radiation, at one end of the electromagnetic spectrum, which is

powerful enough to kick electrons out of their orbits and can kill or damage human cells; and non-ionising radiation, which simply agitates molecules without changing the nature of the atom. Microwaves belong in the second group, "creating their heating effect by agitating the water molecules in food", he says.

Microwaves, which are produced by a magnetron inside the oven, are bounced off the metal walls of the appliance. The waves are unable to penetrate through the metal, and safety back-up devices ensure that the oven cuts out if the door is opened. However, Mr Chadwick says if the door or its seals are bent or damaged, "there is a risk of burning if you were very close to the oven, or actually touching the door."

Another fear expressed by non-users may be better justified: the fear that the technology is too recent for the full effects of usage to be known and researched. In fact, although microwave ovens have been available in Britain since

the early Sixties, doubts about their heating properties have emerged only recently. The rumble of concern began in January last year, when a letter in *The Lancet* from the Institute of Food Research in Norwich revealed the findings of its own microwave cooking experiments with chickens. This showed that while high temperatures were recorded in some parts of the birds' bodies, there were cool spots elsewhere. Food poisoning bacteria such as salmonella, which is commonly found in poultry, and listeria, which is a problem in cook/chill foods, can be destroyed only by thorough heating. The letter stressed that to avoid the risk of food poisoning, microwave ovens must achieve temperatures of at least 70°C throughout the foods prepared in them.

The following summer the London Food Commission (now renamed the Food Commission) announced that microwaves were less efficient than conventional ovens in destroying the micro-organisms which cause food poisoning. It also cited another difficulty, which still persists. The wattage on domestic microwaves varies between 500 and 750, but manufacturers' instructions on pre-cooked and frozen foods are generally written only for machines powered by about 600 watts. This means that even when the ovens are working efficiently, the public might not be heating foods long enough to render them safe. The commission recommended that microwaves

should be used only for foods known to be bacteriologically safe (which would rule out poultry), and that the ovens should be kept scrupulously clean to avoid contamination.

In August 1989 the government ordered an urgent study of the performance of microwave ovens after a pilot project found that one in five of those tested failed to heat food through adequately. The Consumers' Association reacted by suggesting the public should not use microwaves to reheat cooked foods.

In December the results of a second study into the efficiency of microwaves was published, with even more dismaying results. Tests on 102 microwave ovens from 24 manufacturers, revealed that 30 per cent left "cold spots" where the safe temperature of 70°C was not achieved. The Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, which had commissioned the research, refused to name the sub-standard ovens. However, a number of microwave manufacturers voluntarily withdrew or modified their ovens.

Today representatives of the microwave manufacturers will tell the select committee that they have established a standardised testing procedure, so that one manufacturer's 650 watt oven is guaranteed to be just the same, in terms of power, as another's. This was not the case before. The food manufacturers are working on improving instructions so that people with ovens of lower or higher power than the average of 600-650 watts will know how long they need to cook their food.

The final step will be for new domestic microwave ovens to be given a power rating between one and five, which will allow food manufacturers to simplify the instructions on packaging.

SRG says microwave users, who seem a lot happier than the government with their ovens, fall into three groups. The first are single people who regard cooking as a chore to be dispensed with as quickly as possible. They claim to be entirely dependent on micro-



Anyone for a burger? Food minister John Gummer and his wife, Penny, happy at home with their microwave

waves, using them to heat drinks, bake potatoes and produce convenience meals. Many people in this group are putting themselves at risk of food poisoning, because they do not follow the instruction to allow the food to stand for a while after it is removed from the oven, an essential process to allow microwaves to penetrate right to the centre of the food.

The second group are more likely to follow manufacturers' recommendations as they are still at the experimental stage, keenly consulting the recipe books and trying new ideas.

The third group, described as "core users", tend to be confident female cooks who know their microwaves in the same way as they know their ordinary ovens, and feel sure they would notice cold spots in their food.

The SRG researchers conclude: "All owners that we spoke to were very satisfied with their microwaves and were not unduly worried about the scares... Nevertheless there was some evidence to suggest they were using it differently and with more care... The majority feeling seemed to be that one had to take care with food preparation and obey the 'rules', and then there was little cause for concern."

However, while half the nation is convinced of the value of the microwave, the other half is proving slow to convert. The percentage of households with microwaves increased from 30 per cent in 1987 to 47 per cent in 1989. But in 1990 the estimate was roughly 50 per cent, an obvious slowdown.

AMDEA's Mr Shaw says there has not been a single proven case where food poisoning could be traced to the domestic microwave. "Our position is that provided people use the common sense they are born with and follow normal kitchen hygiene practices, the ovens are safe."

The select committee will now have to decide if the changes proposed by microwave and food manufacturers — and the public's common sense — are enough to avoid the risks of food poisoning.

DEBATE ON PACKAGING HEATS UP

OVER the past decade consumers have become accustomed to taking plastic boxes covered with thin film straight from freezer to microwave, to re-heating leftover foods through cling-film wrappings, and to eating burgers or bacon rolls which have been microwaved inside polystyrene boxes.

This week the food surveillance group of the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food called for more research into the plasticiser ATBC (acetyl tributyl citrate), originally designed for use in microwave ovens and which has increasingly been used as a substitute for DEHA, the plasticiser which was the subject of a 1987 health scare.

A year ago the United States Center for Science in the Public Interest (CSPI) was warning Americans that "the containers and packages we use in microwave cooking could be releasing potentially harmful substances into our food". Most dangerous, the US Food and Drug Administration found, were the new "heat susceptors" which concentrate heat to brown certain microwavable foods such as pizzas and chips. When the FDA heated oil in susceptor packages, according to its newsletter, "every package tested released synthetic chemicals into the oil".

Sue Dibb, the editor of the Food Commission's *Food Magazine*, which brought the packaging question to the attention of British consumers in July, says her researchers were also worried by the foods they found being microwaved in polystyrene — "of which there is some evidence of carcinogenicity", she claims.

This is an assertion a spokesman for the British Plastics Federation hotly disputes. David Cadogan of ICI, a spokesman for the British Plastics Federation, says that for the moment in Britain, "the majority of the toxicological work has been sponsored by the industry".

Dr Ann Smith of Maff says that the American research cannot be taken as gospel. "The composition of our packaging is not necessarily the same, and while we are

aware of the American research it is not always applicable to the UK."

Ms Dibb is planning further studies of the effects of microwaves on food packaging for a future issue, and the *Food Magazine* has expressed concern over whether "proposed EC limits are tight enough to provide sufficient consumer protection" when the new plastics directive becomes EC law in January 1993.

The increased use of ATBC has prompted Maff to ask for better labelling on it, offering consumer advice on how to use the previously-labelled "microwave-safe" films

which, it suggests, are safe for "covering containers or reheating meals on plates", but not "for lining dishes or wrapping food whilst cooking in a microwave oven".

Dr Melanie Miller, a food specialist with the Consumers' Association, while warning people not to worry unduly and "to follow the ministry's advice not to wrap fatty foods in cling film, or to cook in direct contact with the film", disparages "the guinea-pig theory that says we should all use these things until they are proved unsafe, rather than the other way around".

VICTORIA MCKEE

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From the... of the...

Jean M. A...

Ian McKellen reveals his professorial plans for Oxford, and is reviewed in Hamburg (below, right) as the National Theatre starts a world tour

More than a stage coach

Ian McKellen has always been a reluctant conformist: the head boy at Bolton School who spent his spare time playing Shakespeare rather than rugby; a founder member of the collective Actors' Company who finally succumbed to the Royal Shakespeare Company because "I was fed up with playing the small parts"; and a committed campaigner for gay rights.

But the McKellen pendulum took a firm swing towards the Establishment last month when, after weeks of rumours, he was finally announced as the second Cameron Mackintosh Visiting Professor of Contemporary Theatre at St Catherine's College, Oxford, the successor to Stephen Sondheim. The irony is not lost on him. "It amuses me rather than anything that this gay man, who seems to irritate the Establishment no end because he goes on marches and makes speeches and has campaigned against VAT on theatre tickets and is constantly challenging the government to have a proper attitude towards the arts, should suddenly be called Professor McKellen."

But then, as professorships go, this one is highly unconventional, and McKellen is perfectly cast in the part. The £1.7 million donation for the Chair was provided by Cameron Mackintosh, producer of such West End successes as *Miss Saigon* and *Les Misérables*, with two stipulations: that it should teach live, contemporary theatre ("I wasn't interested in endowing Euripides," Mackintosh says) and that its holder should be a working theatrical practitioner.

McKellen was approached on behalf of Oxford University by Mackintosh, by David Aukin,

Channel 4 head of drama, and Melvyn Bragg. He accepted the Chair on the understanding that his full-time work as actor and associate director at the National Theatre would continue throughout his professorial tenure.

"I said to them that if I'd been on their committee, I think I might have approached me as well. They knew I had interests beyond just getting up and acting and I suppose the fact that I'd been to university (he was a Cambridge contemporary of Derek Jacobi and Trevor Nunn) meant that I'd understand the world I'd be entering." His comparative youthfulness (at 51) and his energetic political campaigning make him a credible undergraduate icon; sterner donnish elements will be placated by his unquestionable standing as a classical actor. "Just as the typical National Theatre programme will quote the views of academics, those same academics will refer to live productions. My career has entirely followed that tradition, a mixture of body and mind. Whether any of that fits me to set up a teaching course remains to be seen."

Assessments of Stephen Sondheim's period of professorship vary. For Mackintosh, it was "hugely successful". But students, it seems, were unimpressed. "I didn't think the meetings I went to were very good," Jemma Heath, the university student drama officer says. "They were packed out with friends of the speakers with only about ten students there. The idea was good, but it should have been less intimidating. It could be viewed as a great con, a nice piece of publicity for whoever takes it on. Students didn't get a look in."



McKellen: "I'm not going into Oxford to teach people how to become successful actors."

Nor did they into Sondheim's musical masterclasses, with the surprising result that this Oxford professor taught no present members of Oxford University. "Stephen and I listened to a huge number of tapes," Mackintosh insists, "and the stuff from students was crap. They were amateurs, and you can't teach amateurs to become professionals. You either have the talent or not. It's nothing to do with teaching."

Mercifully, McKellen has a more indulgent attitude to amateurs. "I think I'll have a much wider scope than Sondheim. I want to talk about theatre on which everyone will have a view, as audience as much as practitioners. I'm not going into Oxford to teach a lot of people how to become successful actors."

Details are not yet finalised, but he intends to give an inaugural lecture in January, and to organise a series of open seminars as well as specialist classes in acting, directing and technical production. "It seemed to me that the invitation was 'Would you like to come and live in Oxford for a year and be a part of Oxford?' Well, I can't do that because I've got another job. But I can try and be there a lot, and see undergraduates acting, and talk to people any time of the day or night."

He has a history of taking on extra burdens at the last minute — the London benefit performance of *Acting Shakespeare*, his one-man compendium of the Bard's greatest hits, was arranged after an exhausting American tour in

order to salvage the foundering London Lighthouse AIDS hospice. His stamina was clear from our interview, which he gave uncomplainingly at 12.30am after a four-hour performance in the title role of *Richard III*. But even this workaholic timing off more than he can chew?

"You'll just have to trust my optimism that it's going to be OK. If at the end of the year people are dissatisfied, then maybe the policy of asking someone who is in the thick of working in the theatre world should be changed. I'll initiate conversations, throw out my own experience and have people challenge and discuss it. That's the way in which I hope to learn."

RICHARD LLOYD PARRY

World at their feet

The evening before the National Theatre opened at the Deutsches Schauspielhaus in Hamburg — at the start of the European leg of its world tour of *King Lear* and *Richard III* — the company had an opportunity to witness the brutal candour of German theatre audiences. They went to the opening night of Pirandello's *Henry IV*, directed by the Argentinian Augusto Fernandes, which was greeted with loud booing and catcalls. As Fernandes appeared on stage and drew forth a vehement roar of disapproval, Ian McKellen leaped across to Brian Cox and whispered, "No individual curtain calls tomorrow, I think."

McKellen, who is the producer of both plays as well as playing the title role in *Richard III* and Kent in *King Lear*, need not have worried. When Cox took a bow after four hours on stage as Lear the following evening, it was to wildly enthusiastic, lengthy applause. Deborah Warner's stark, lucid production, played on an almost bare stage, was universally and unequivocally praised by the critics too; the local *Hamburger Abendblatt* described it as "the theatrical experience of a lifetime". No praise was too high for the actors: the critic from *Die Welt* reported that he enjoyed "listening for four hours to the music of Elizabethan English, so beautifully spoken."

Besides Cox's extraordinarily energetic Lear, first seen clattering down the middle of the stage in a wheelchair wearing a party hat and blowing a whistle, David Bradley's music-hall Fool and Susan Engel's Goneril came in for particularly wide praise. There was some disagreement, however, about the model for Engel's characterisation. *Die Welt* suggested that Goneril was based on Mrs Thatcher, while the *Abendblatt* curiously described it as "an imposing mixture of Laurence Olivier and Greta Garbo".

McKellen's Richard is an

imposing mixture of Sir Oswald Mosley and every successful dictator the world has known. On the face of it, Richard Eyre's production is set in an England of the 1930s in which Mosley rises to power, but Eyre himself sees Richard III as an archetypal tyrant; he draws heavily on his observations of repression in Romania. The German critics accepted the parallels with their own relatively recent history and appeared to appreciate Eyre's interpretation.

Once again, the actors received lavish praise. The mass-circulation *Bild* said McKellen's performance set a standard for Germany, as well as Britain. Indeed, *Bild* felt that the German theatre had much to learn from the visit of the National Theatre. Here, the paper said, was an example of a poorly funded theatre in which the acting came "from the stomach", full of passion and theatricality and in which the spoken word took precedence over elaborate staging. *Bild* also took a swipe at Michael Bogdanov, the artistic director of the Deutsches Schauspielhaus. Given that Bogdanov came from this parsimonious English theatrical tradition, *Bild* felt that there was no excuse for him overspending on his £9 million budget for the theatre.

After Hamburg, the National Theatre went to Milan, beginning the next stage of a tour that will take the company all over western Europe and as far afield as Cairo and Bucharest, and lasting well into next year.

Touring is exhausting for actors, and before *King Lear* opened in Hamburg, Cox said that he was so tired of making sacrifices for the theatre that he was considering giving up the stage. However, as he accepted the thunderous applause at the Deutsches Schauspielhaus later that evening, he looked as if he might be persuaded to stay a while longer.

DENIS STAUNTON

OPERA

Japan pays credit to the Welsh



Japanese hit: the Welsh National Opera production of *Falstaff*

Mel Cooper reports on Tokyo's reaction to the latest British cultural import

Clapping its contribution to Japan's UK90 festival, the Tokyo Bunkamura (celebrating its first anniversary as a cultural centre) presented Welsh National Opera in its 2,150-seat Orchard Hall. Last Thursday, Tokyo saw the first of three performances of Strauss's *Salome* in the much-debated André Engel production; WNO also gave three performances of *Falstaff* in the now-famous Peter Stein staging; a production of Verdi's final comic masterpiece that has justifiably become something of a company calling card. It was certainly an auspicious time for the Welsh to visit Tokyo, with the world's cameras focussed on the imperial coronation, and a host of visiting dignitaries (including the Prince and Princess of Wales) in the city.

Audience reaction suggests the Japanese appreciated *Salome*, especially the gripping portrayal of the lust-crazed child-princess by Catherine Malfitano in her long-delayed WNO debut (Equity prevented her from being WNO's Gilda in 1976). They seemed also to fall in love with *Falstaff*. In the

Verdi everything worked superbly — the ensemble and stage movement were smooth; the theatrical illusion of an entire community in spontaneous action was convincing; and the musical performance (directed by Richard Armstrong) was at the highest level in the final scene, when the chorus came into its own. At the end of *Falstaff*'s first night, the audience was for Japan, especially demonstrative: a further confirmation of the value of these East-West exchanges and of Japan's continuing, and seemingly insatiable, appetite for Western classical music.

That value can be measured financially. It is costing the Tokyo Bunkamura 600 million yen (approximately £24 million) to receive these six performances. To put that figure in perspective, consider that it is equivalent to six months' worth of Arts Council grant to WNO. Tokyo is a hard-pressed financial centre: what does the city hope to gain from this conspicuous cultural expenditure? Not profits, certainly. The hall, completely filled, would generate only £800,000 from box-office takings.

Indeed, the question can be widened: why have the Japanese built this mini-Lincoln Center next to the main Tokyo department store — with two theatres, cinemas, art galleries, a theatre library, a bookstore and restaurant? The answer is probably that they perceive the Bunkamura (Arts City) as a step in a long-term plan: it enhances the city's cultural image, attracts customers into the area of town that is being developed, and it generates its own profits, too.

Even with ticket prices ranging from £40 to £110 for WNO, the hall was, amazingly, about 80 per cent full each night. The next opera coming to the Orchard Hall is *Porgy and Bess*, in the Houston Grand Opera production. That follows in a notable procession of Western performers playing Tokyo. Sherrill Milnes, Thomas Allen, Katie Ricciarelli and Giuseppe Sinopoli were all performing in Japan over one weekend. Martita Graham, the Scottish Ballet, the National Theatre of Great Britain, Michael Clark and Christa Ludwig have also recently been in Japan.

UK90 has given a British bias and profile to the arts in Japan this year — the treasures of the British Museum are also on their way here. But arts and artists from France, Brazil, Austria and the United States are here, too. In Japan, foreign culture is being accorded unprecedented attention, respect and, above all, open-minded curiosity.

The resounding success of *Falstaff* can, in part, be put down to a superb cast: Suzanne Murphy's dominant Alice was gutsy, poised and vocally gleaming; Wendy Vercoe was an energetic Meg; Cynthia Buchanan was an earthy, bristling Mistress Quickly. The women, as always in this production, nearly stole the show; but Barry Morris's moving Ford (the jealousy aria was unforgettable) and Peter Branden's angry Dr Caius mustered most attention. Paul Clarke was a manly Fenton, while Donald Maxwell simply became Falstaff, providing the focus vocally and dramatically at the centre of the production.

Assessed in terms of mass produced, elegant, durable and affordable furniture, the achievement of Michael Thonet and his sons during the 19th and 20th centuries may hardly be exaggerated. Yet the very ubiquity of the most popular curvilinear bentwood chairs — many still in continuous production after 150 years — contributes to their near invisibility, and the bafflingly low profile of arguably the most important and influential furniture manufacturer of all time.

That this overdue exhibition should be mounted in the Design Museum is fitting, for Thonet's chairs (to which the exhibition is almost exclusively devoted) may clearly be seen in the cool, white space as the utter exemplification of the purist's dictum that function should dictate form. The sinuous and sometimes voluptuous curves of wood and tubular metal simply surround the sitter's space — each chair managing to be extremely inviting — while even the more elaborate curlicues on the rocking chairs manage to appear elegant and even restrained, their sheer prettiness belying the truth that they are integral to the structure and stability of the total design.

Michael Thonet was a German cabinet-maker who, in 1841 at the age of 45, took out several patents to protect his innovative work. At this stage, the process took the form of bending suckers of laminated veneers by boiling them in glue, but by the following year Thonet was established in Austria. There he obtained from the emperor the patent for a new and revolutionary process: "to bend even the most brittle type of wood in a chemical-mechanical way into various forms and curves". With the necessary machinery having been designed by Thonet and his five sons, further patents were taken out in England, France and Belgium, and by means of international exhibitions and show-rooms, a massive manufacturing operation was underway.

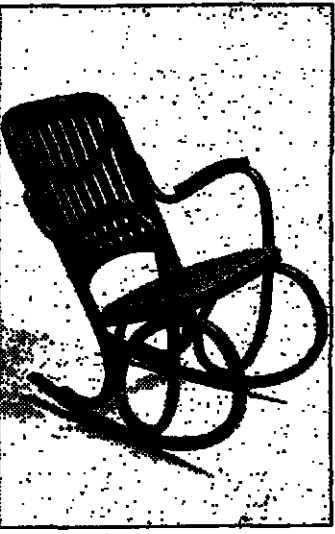
By the turn of the century, the Thonet Company employed more than 6,000 workers and produced 4,000 pieces of furniture every day — one million pieces per year. The annual catalogue (produced multi-lingually) ran to more than 150 pages, illustrating every conceivable application of the process from children's hoops to bedroom suites. Furthermore, although a basic bentwood sidechair could be had for the price of a bottle of wine — and they were bought in their thousands by cafes, railway stations and even prisons — the demand for them to furnish fashionable homes never diminished: Thonet had designed and successfully marketed the first (some would say the only) classless furniture.

The star of the show is in some ways the humblest exhibit: placed literally on a pedestal and surrounded by Perspect, stands "Chair 14" — a suitably workmanlike application for the classic hoop-backed sidechair, one of millions produced. Despite its familiarity, the spare simplicity of line and the friskiness of the gently played legs strike one afresh. "Chair 14" is surrounded by far less famous delights: a beautifully curved tub chair of 1904 by Otto Wagner, its back perforated by perfectly graduated circles, provides a startling contrast to a bright red three-legged armchair made just one year later. A compact rocker of 1890 (see photograph, above) has all the chubby strength of a Josef Hoffmann design, and is well set off by the most elegant piece in the exhibition — a wonderfully slender

DESIGN

Pure in function and form

Joseph Connolly assesses the latest exhibition of Thonet furniture at the Design Museum



der music chair of 1888, its ebony finish and gold filleting strongly recalling Hepplewhite.

The exhibition also shows a good representation of a facet of Thonet that is largely unrecognised: the company's huge involvement in the 1920s and 1930s with the new wave of tubular metal furniture. Marcel

technique at the Bauhaus in 1925, was the first to sell designs to Thonet, and was soon followed by Mies van der Rohe (whose simply curved metal dining chairs owed much to the early wooden rockers) and Le Corbusier, who mixed his own tubular metal chairs with 75-year-old bentwood designs in all his interiors. Most of the famous chairs are here, including two versions of Breuer's "Cesca", this steel and whicker chair being the most successful (and the most plagiarised) of the 20th century.

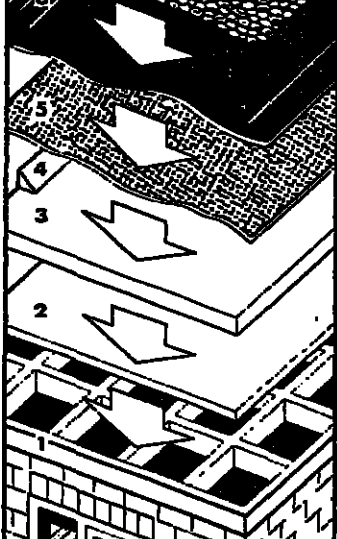
For the 1989 Milan Furniture Fair, the Thonet Company commissioned eight one-off chair designs from contemporary designers; these, alas, are also on view. Among the more ludicrous is a chair shaped like an outsize rocking desk-blitter with a lacrosse net as a backrest, an awful post-Memphis sort of armchair with legs inspired by those of Mrs Thatcher (we are told), and a quartet of aluminium chair frames draped with women's clothing.

These ventures are either intensely amusing, or else a complete waste of time and resources, according to taste. That Thonet should put its name to them is faintly shocking: the company's great classics of the 19th and 20th centuries owe nothing to applied decoration, and these travesties depend upon it wholly. The remaining prototypes are merely derivative of Suck, Mackintosh, Saarinen, Le Corbusier (with touches of Rietveld) and Gionori. Michael Thonet would not have approved, if only because none of these could be successfully mass-produced and marketed: for Thonet saw himself only as a manufacturer, and not as an artist. In this — as the better part of the exhibition demonstrates — he was mistaken.

● Thonet is being shown at the Design Museum, Butlers Wharf, London SE1 2YD (071-403 6933), until January 28.

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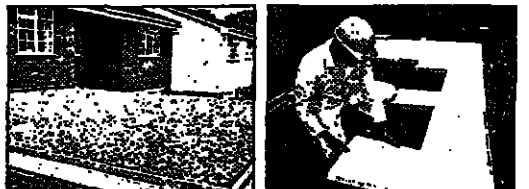
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Victoria Vice Version

Tom Hutchinson
THE DIFFERENCE ENGINE
By William Gibson and Bruce Sterling
Gollancz, £13.95

Q. BRAVE old world. This intriguing conceit is as elaborately wrought as the brass filigree on one of the vast steam computers that drive a substitute Victorian age. Science has taken a turn for the bizarre, with the murder of the countryside by an Industrial Revolution before its time. This is the bizarre funeral procession of a kind of calculator and microchips. The result is Conan Doyle embracing Asimov, with a kiss on the cheek from Frank Harris for lewd measure. Science fiction is a misnomer for Lady Ada Byron — daughter of the prime minister — and finds herself embroiled in a Luddite rebellion in the year 1817.

A. That story-line is as dense as the fog that hangs over London to make it the Great Stink, and one loses way just as easily, missing characters, barging into unexplained new ones. But the atmosphere is all, from its dolly-mop girls to the clackers (machine-minders for the computer), from the early cinema to walk-on roles for John Keats and Byron ("a sensational novelist"). It is written with the invention that its era mothered. In that way — and for all its plot-deficiencies — it works extraordinarily well.

A new woman's novel approach

There used to be something called a "woman's novel", which was not only written by a woman but read chiefly by women, and it was about the problems and vicissitudes of love, marriage and family life. These weren't romantic trash, but sharply observed, intelligent literary novels such as those written, for example, by sundry distinguished Elizabeths — von Arnim, Bowen, Taylor, Jenkins. The Women's Movement destabilised and demystified the woman's novel. Alison Laurie and Margaret Atwood have sharpened their claws on the stout sole-legs of its traditions, but they have not destroyed it, nor sought to.

Ann Beattie is American, one of the "thirtysomething" generation and much acclaimed in the United States. *Picturing Will* is her third novel (she has also written short stories), and Margaret Atwood is quoted on the jacket: "A new Beattie is almost like a fresh bulletin from the front." There is, then, a war on. There always was, in the woman's novel. What changes is the balance of power, the cast of characters, the terrain.

Picturing Will is about the lives of men and women, but it focuses on a five-year-old child. Will's mother is a photographer, and photography determines the structure of the novel — points of view and perspectives, close-ups and wide-angle shots. Each adult connected with the child Will pictures him, and each other, from his or her own point of view. Even those who love Will must have impure motives, and use him, unknowingly, to further their own emotional needs, though the reader only cottons on to their selfishness

Victoria Glendinning on modern relations

when viewing the situation from someone else's angle, later.

Today's woman's novel speaks to men as well, and explores the complex, loose structures that our families now are. Will and his mother Jody live with Mel in Charlottesville, Virginia. Mel is a devoted proxy father; he wants Jody to marry him, and looks after Will while she works. Mel comes to love Will with an intensity that seems pure, but may be something

PICTURING WILL
By Ann Beattie
Cape, £12.99

more peculiar. Will's real father, Wayne, is now married to Corky, and they live in Florida. Wayne is a thoughtless father, a big sweaty slob, whose mind runs on extramarital sex, and he gets a lot of it.

When the story is being told from the point of view of either Mel or Wayne, their attitudes seem quite reasonable. It's only when you have finished the novel that you realise that no one is really good for Will — certainly not the man who offers Will's mother a show in his gallery, and seduces another small boy in a hotel room, with Will present: this scene is a horrific erotic tour de force, seen entirely through the eyes of innocent, puzzled little Will.

Will would like to tell his mother what happened in the hotel, but she doesn't want to hear about it. The women do not come

out of this much better than the men. Will meant everything to his mother when she was newly divorced and lonely; when she becomes successful in her work, she is happy to leave the child-care to her lover. Will's father's second wife Corky longs for a child of her own, and lavishes ostentatious attention on Will, hoping to soften awful Wayne's heart.

Will's mother folded his socks when she packed them for the visit; his father's second wife rolls them into a ball for the return home, like a message of defiance to the other woman. This is the sort of detail — real woman's novel stuff — at which Beattie excels. The narrative is full of documentary snapshots of the clutter of domesticity — of bills, photos, drawings, or the random but telling contents of a bedside chest of drawers, the intimate inventories of private life.

It is not easy to infiltrate the consciousness of a child without sentimentality and falsity, and even harder to transcribe childish thought-processes. But Ann Beattie can do it, as in a brief passage when Will is on his own, in the bath, playing with his toys — just before he looks out of the window and sees something horrible happening to his father. The book ends with Will grown up, a young father himself, with his own set of mental snapshots, and his own idea of himself, of his elders, and of his child. This is a sensitive, astute book, about the way adults shape children's lives, and vice versa. The skills Ann Beattie now has at her command seem more original than what she has to say, but she is nevertheless provoking and pleasurable to read. The woman's novel lives.



Ann Beattie, taking compelling snapshots of the emotional and general clutter of modern relationships

Cats among the cream

PATRICK GALE's *The Cat Sanctuary* is a book with claws. It has a soft surface — a story set in sloping Cornish countryside, touching on love, families and forgiveness, delivered in a gentle, straightforward prose — but from time to time it catches you unaware. A wife is standing on the doorstep waving her husband goodbye, when an explosion scatters his car and his body all over the front garden. A jolly Sunday afternoon drug hunt, launched with glasses of sherry and honey goodwill, ends up in a pile of feline carnage. Scratch the surface of life, suggests Gale, and you draw blood.

Sabine Durrant
THE CAT SANCTUARY



By Patrick Gale
Chatto & Windus, £13.99
GOODBYE WITHOUT LEAVING
By Laurie Colwin
Hodder & Stoughton, £12.95
RUMPOLE A LA CARTE
By John Mortimer
Viking, £13.99

picked up after shows, dancing to the beat till she loses all sense of self. When it's over, she is struck by self-doubt, and spends most of her days worrying about her future or the present, or feeling that part of herself has been left behind.

For all her inwardness, though, Gerry is an engaging character, casting an ironic light on Johnny Miller, her lawyer/pop-culture husband. There is the whole menagerie of uptight suburbia she finds herself conniving with on the dinner-party circuit. There is a quirky brightness to the prose, too — speeding over the years, delving into disparate incidents, jumping across conversations — that belies its often downbeat subject (the pressure of hope and responsibility, the agonies of doubt and duty). It is the sort of fiction that reads like autobiography, or autobiography that reads like fiction.

There has always seemed to be a good deal of autobiography in John Mortimer's Rumpole books. It is the sense that things have been experienced at first hand which largely lends the series its easy familiarity. Whether Mortimer himself, in his time as a barrister, ever had to defend the proprietor of a rodent-infested restaurant, or found himself propositioned by "the worst driver who ever skidded her gleaming white Volkswagen off the Uxbridge road" (episodes that tax his fictional barrister in his latest collection of short stories) is probably an issue best thrown out of court. Whenever, regular followers will recognise immediately the controlled proximity of author to subject.

The sanctuary of the title is one run for stray cats by a bony old woman with rheumatism and a mysterious past. But it has a wider resonance, too: a region of north Cornwall in which all the men either went off to war and came back in a box, or have left for more gainful employment elsewhere. Whatever the reason, Marytown is a land of widows and spinsters, where the only man is not as complete as he might be (his mother caught him playing with himself when he was a child, and took literally violent exception to the fact), and two women can live in sin without scandal. It is a place of repose — ideal for recovery from a bereavement, and for reunion between estranged sisters.

The sisters in question are Judith (an independent, insecure writer, who happens to be a lesbian) and hopelessly widowed Deborah, who happens to be a twit. The two, brought together after years apart by Judith's lover, Joanna, are harbouring resentments the size of oil tankers. All in their middle-class childhoods, it seems, was not as rosy as it might

have been. If there is little mystery hanging over Gale's hints about "Daddy's girl", and a rather melodramatic manner to his coverage of episodes of childhood, there is at least some caustic comedy in the women's attempts to sort it all out. The acuteness in the sniping comments, awkward meetings on the stairs, and far-flying explosions mean their final reunion is actually a bit of a disappointment.

Geraldine Colebourne, the heroine of Laurie Colwin's delightful *Goodbye Without Leaving*, lives her life on the verge of feeling let down. There is a brief period, after postgraduate studies, when she travels the US as the only white back-up singer with Vernon and Ruby Shakesley and the Shakesleys, and feels fulfilled. It is a time spent reading magazines and anointing nails in the back of a bus, being

HERE'S a treat for the reader — described as "a novel to complement *Emma*", this is Joan Aiken's view of Jane Fairfax, following her equally attractive *Mansfield Revisited*.

Darker sides of Jane

HISTORICALS
Philippa Toomey

JANE FAIRFAX
By Joan Aiken
Gollancz, £12.95

Jane Fairfax, left an orphan at a very early age, went as we all know to live with her grandmother and her aunt Hetty. She is dressed entirely in cast-offs from the Woodhouse children — cut down from the older Isabella, wearing particularly unbecoming colours suitable to Emma, who is her own age. Mrs Woodhouse, a charming, fragile figure, hopes that Emma and Jane will play together and be best friends, but it is a hopeless task. Even at six, Emma's character was fully formed; but Jane shares her music lessons, and soon outstrips her.

Causes of resentment are there, and Emma's settled dislike of Jane is reinforced when Mrs Woodhouse leaves her £100 in her will. The death of a young woman in childbirth was all too common in those days, and Mr Woodhouse is not seen as the delightfully funny valetudinarian, but a selfish, weak man. Jane is virtually adopted by Colonel Campbell (her late father's commanding officer) and his wife, and finds a sister in Rachel, the nervous daughter of the house. In the Austen tradition of odious snobs is Mrs Fitzroy, the elegant, impoverished mother of Mrs Campbell, sweetly venomous to Jane. Her cry "What kind of name is that?" is applied to all but the aristocracy.

Jane grows up pretty and elegant, but knows that a dreary fate awaits her as a governess — even a lady's maid would be more fun, and probably be paid more, she thinks. But she gets three proposals of marriage during a visit to Weymouth: one she scoffs, one she rejects for Rachel's sake, and one she accepts — clandestinely, as we all know.

Jane and Frank Churchill are in a similar plight — both taken out of their social backgrounds to something rather more grand, and both dependent on others for their livelihood and ultimate happiness. The darker side of Regency life is reflected in a way that Miss Austen ignored — another pen has filled in the shadows. Emma is a minor character — something that would have annoyed that self-important young woman very much indeed. Great fun.

Francesca was saved. A gradual rise through the social system of poor knights in tumbledown manor houses, with danger from Welsh marauders, and the bigger struggle between Richard and his brother John as a background.

● **The Unsuitable Miss Pelham**, by June Drummond (*Gollancz, £13.95*). Admirers of the late, great Gertrude Heyer will recognise the genre — a Regency romance, and quite an ingenious one. Diplomat and earl, Alexander Frome, is rich and a very eligible bachelor. Driving with his brother Nick in the country, he witnesses an attempted murder. He finds that the young man with the pistol is in fact a young woman, the independent and attractive Lucilla Pelham, grand-daughter of Sir Sholto Curie. Two love stories, a murder story, the last three people in a tontine, a family feud, and a happy ending are neatly entwined.

● **Tamara**, by Flora Fraser (*Weidenfeld & Nicolson, £13*). The poet Pindar of Thebes is delighted that Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse, has chosen him to compose an ode celebrating a victory at Olympia. But Syracuse itself is in danger from the dispossessed Sicels, its corn burned, its citizens massacred. Unfortunately, while the details are accurate, the descriptions of Syracuse lack any kind of life, and the dialogue is flat and unconvincing. Someone should have removed the "complicated smiles", which appear too often on a number of faces.

● **Princes among their Peoples**, by Jane Ball (*Simon & Schuster, £13.95*). Benedict is a clever little boy, with a talent for figures. But his father sells him to a cruel goldsmith in York, from which fate he is rescued by Josce, a rich Jew. Twelfth-century York turned against the Jews, and his kind master died — but his daughter

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JONATHAN MEADES
PETER KNOWS WHAT DICK LIKES FILTHY ENGLISH

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Chat-show screams

LEGEND has certainly launched its novella imprint with the big guns. Everything Carroll writes is required reading for anyone remotely interested in horror and fantasy fiction; and this is no exception, even if he gives the impression of having suddenly truncated a half-written, full-length novel to fit the format. Los Angeles radio chat-show host Ingram York (brother of a character from one of the author's previous books) finds that there is more to his new friend Michael than meets the eye. As always, Carroll blends keen psychological insight with a sinister slant on modern life.

● **Reborn**, by F. Paul Wilson (*New English Library, £13.95*). Wilson's big hit was *The Keep* — evil Nazis versus even more evil vampire — and this purports to be a sequel, though there are only a few marginal points of reference to the

HORROR
Anne Billson
BLACK COCKTAIL
By Jonathan Carroll
Legend, £8.99, paperback, £4.50

original book, and the open ending and 1968 setting suggest that a third part is in the offing. Basically, the incredibly ancient and evil being is seeking to be reborn. Characters include a man with hairy palms and no soul, his wife, and a hysterical coven of Catholic vigilantes who are aiming to stamp out the Antichrist before he can put in an appearance. This is nowhere near as compelling and original as *The Keep*, but interesting in that the pawns of evil are more sympathetically drawn than the would-be agents of righteousness.

● **The Lost Chronicle of Edward de Vere**, by Andrew Field (*Viking, £13.99*). The seventeenth Earl of Oxford, Lord Great Chamberlain, dying of the plague, reveals to the world that he is the poet and the playwright known to all as Will-

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BRIEFING

Pickings far from rich

EVEN as it was winning the Evening Standard Drama Award for best play, William Nicholson's *Shadowlands* was snarling from harsh reviews on Broadway, where it opened on Sunday. Although he admired leading actor Nigel Hawthorne, Frank Rich in the *New York Times* wrote that the play, about C.S. Lewis's relationship with American poet Joy Kilmer, "has little more intellectual or emotional depth than a tearjerker set in two-car garage suburbia". Other critics were not much kinder, but the play's true fate will be determined at the box office. Initial sales are not promising: the play opened to almost no advance sales after playing to less than 40 per cent capacity in previews.

A stitch in time

WITH contributions of £50,000 apiece from the National Heritage Memorial Fund and the National Art Collection Fund, the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art has just purchased an exceptional and important early picture by the French intimist painter, Edouard Vuillard. Low-key in colour and intensely patterned almost to the verge of abstraction, "Two Seamstresses in the Workshop" was acquired from Vuillard's studio by the Edinburgh artist Charles Mackie in 1893 and has been in Scotland ever since. An exhibition of Vuillard's work, which includes "Two Seamstresses", is now on at the William Hardie Gallery, Glasgow.

Forster in the can

THE only E.M. Forster novel left unfilmed will soon be *The Longest Journey*. Shooting finished on Sunday for Charles Sturridge's film of *Where Angels Fear to Tread*, due for release next spring. Judy Davis, from *A Passage to India*, heads the cast along with Rupert Graves, Helen Mirren and Helena Bonham Carter. Early in 1991, the producer, Ismail Merchant and director James Ivory — the team responsible for *Maurice* and *A Room With a View* — tackle *Howard's End*, the novel which some considered Forster's master work. Names mentioned as possible stars include Anthony Hopkins and, again, Bonham Carter.

Last chance...

TWO hours of non-stop dancing, anecdotes, gags, songs, and a little gentle reincarnation theory confirm Shirley MacLaine as one of the great all-round entertainers of our era — and a stunning advertisement for life after 50. With an eight-piece band and four handsome hoofters behind her, she gives a mesmerising, high-energy display of technique, character and much self-debunking wit. Her show, *Out There Tonight*, finishes at the Dominion (071-380 8845) on Sunday.

CINEMA: NEW RELEASES

David Robinson reviews Sam Raimi's *Darkman*, *Criminal Law*, *The Reflecting Skin*, *The Icicle Thief* and *Madhouse*

THE crazed avenger, his hideous facial disfigurement hidden behind a mask, stalks Grand Guignol since Gaston Leroux's 1910 thriller *The Phantom of the Opera*. Hollywood variants have included *The Mystery of the Wax Museum*, *The Face Behind the Mask* and innumerable B-picture derivatives.

In *Darkman* (15, Cannons Fulham Road, Oxford Street, Plaza; Whiteleys), Sam Raimi and a small army of script collaborators (five are credited) bring the story up to date. As the film starts, Liam Neeson is given the standard treatment, by acid bath and fire, at the hands of gangsters working for a crooked property developer (currently the most favoured profession for movie villains).

Neeson happens to be a scientist who has almost (but unfortunately not quite) perfected artificial skin. His mask-making is a sophisticated affair with computers and lasers — a far cry from the handicrafts of the old *Wax Museum*.

In other respects Sam Raimi pays full homage to the most venerable horror-movie traditions. Universal, which produced *Darkman*, was, after all, the studio where both versions of *Phantom of the Opera* were made.

The monster lurks and darts in streets that are transformed to Expressionist nightmares by dramatic lighting and pouring rain. He wears the flowing black cloak and broad-brimmed hat of the old Phantom, though it is unclear where he found such a *recherché* wardrobe. His bandaged face is borrowed from another Universal horror classic, *The Invisible Man*.

Raimi's previous films were the shoestring horror-comics *The Evil Dead* and its sequel. The writing of *Darkman* has not kept pace with the greater sophistication of its production resources. Visually the film is inventive, but the storytelling is slapdash, missing most of its opportunities. Surprisingly little is made, for instance, of the Cinderella syndrome introduced by the synthetic skin which turns to sludge after exposure to light.

Though it could have offered much more, *Darkman* is at least lively nonsense, maintaining its balance between horror and absurdist comedy, and climaxing with an outrageous, cartoon-comedy finale on the heights of a skyscraper building site.

Life Liam Neeson in *Darkman*, Gary Oldman turns American for *Criminal Law* (18, Cannons Chelsea, Haymarket, Shaftesbury Ave), an American-style film, set in Boston but shot in Canada by British Martin Campbell.

The story exploits the layman's

fascination with the predicament of defence lawyers who know their clients are guilty. Oldman is an unconventional attorney who successfully defends a rich and charming young man (Kevin Bacon) accused of rape and murder.

The freed man thereupon plays cat-and-mouse with the lawyer, perceiving him to be an unintentional accessory in his subsequent serial killings.

Campbell, previously known for his television series *Edge of Darkness*, builds up an atmosphere of menace, and the playing of Oldman and Bacon deserved a better script than Mark Kasdan has given them. The story hunches from corny thriller devices of secret passages and ancestral portraits to the pretensions of a moribund ancient who interrupts the action from time to time, like a deity in classical drama, with philosophical platitudes.

There are occasional, frustrating hints of a darker and potentially more interesting psycho-sexual drama, including a scene where Oldman, engaged in sadistically violent sex with the sister of a murder victim, suddenly perceives his partner as the handsome young murderer himself.

The trail to Canada to make American-style pictures is currently well-trodden by British directors. Another example this week is Philip Ridley's *The Reflecting Skin* (15, Cannons Tottenham Court Road and Piccadilly, Gate, Notting Hill), a bizarre essay in American Gothic, set in Iowa some 40 years ago.

Nine-year-old Seth (Jeremy Cooper) lives in a prairie shack that looks like a painting which Edward Hopper abandoned. Ma is given to subjecting the boy to water torture. Dad incinerates himself, along with the family gas station, on account of something nasty he once did. Brother is a war veteran disintegrating from radiation sickness. The neighbours are weird. The sheriff, having lost an ear to a dog, an eye to a wasp, and a hand to a snapper-fish, has an understandably jaundiced view of things.

The only local amenity is that anyone can hitch a lift from the neighbourhood child-killers, who cruise around in black leather (surely an anachronism for 1950?) and a big Cadillac.

It is no surprise then that little Seth keeps a dead baby under his bed and is given to bursting inflated frogs. This whimsically bizarre tale is presented straight-faced by Philip Ridley as writer-director. Does he intend us to laugh when, at the end of the film, Seth is asked "Why don't you play with your friends", and answers

No masking a well-worn plot



Liam Neeson attempts a kidnap in *Darkman*, Sam Raimi's update of the classic Grand Guignol story about the disfigured avenger

"Because they're all dead?" Performances are portentously stylised and stubbornly slow, and the best part is Dick Pope's highly decorative camerawork, which provides a striking stage for Ridley's macabre human zoo.

The Icicle Thief (PG, Metro) is an unqualified treat. Maurizio Nichetti belongs to a uniquely Italian school of director-comedians whose films are rarely seen outside their own territory. In his screen character, Nichetti looks rather like the young Einstein, with the mane of an electrocuted lion, a sad, drooping moustache, and startled eyes behind wire-rimmed glasses. He scuttles around on short, stiff legs, but is never fast enough to evade the physical disasters which persistently beset him.

He is a film director in *The Icicle Thief*, invited to the television studios to introduce his black-and-white neo-realist classic. Talked down by a critic, he suffers as his film is sliced-up with brightly coloured commercials.

Gradually film and commercials begin to invade each other. A well-fed, bikini-clad, full-colour model girl lands in the black-and-white misery of the movie and announces her intention of staying there. The poor peasants from the

movie wander into the commercials, and are ecstatic at the discovery of this consumer world of plenty. Little Nichetti vainly battles to restore order.

This sophisticated satire on the undifferentiated tap-flow of television is also a passionate declaration of love for the movies. Indeed, its only weakness is that Nichetti's indulgent pleasure in his pastiche of De Sica's *Bicycle Thief* sometimes slows down the comedy. Nichetti is unrecognisable his second role as the balking hero of the neo-realist film within this Pirandellian film.

The true star of *Madhouse* (15, Cannons Tottenham Court Road, Pantons Street; Odeon Mezzanine) is an appalling cat that vomits spectacularly on the rest of the cast and persistently resurrects itself, ever more bedraggled, no matter how diligently it is murdered and buried. The human part of the cast are much lovable, but rarely have such good script material as the feline.

A first film by writer-director Tom Ropelewski, this situation comedy about a nightmare invasion by awful house-guests demonstrates that mere escalation of catastrophes does not constitute comedy. He story introduces snakes, elephants, malevolent children, drug dealers, burns down one house and demolishes another, but gets no funnier.

CRITIC'S CHOICE: VIDEO

A weekly selection of films recently released on video. The year refers to the date of first release, or in the case of television films, of first broadcast.

LA BELLE ET LA BÊTE (BF) Connoisseur, PG) Jean Cocteau's classic — one of the most spellbinding fairytales in all cinema, splendidly dressed in startling images and fantastic costumes. With Josette Day as Beauty, and Jean Marais — a Beast both ferocious and tender 1946.

ENEMIES, A LOVE STORY (20, 20 Vision, 15) Paul Mazursky's skilful version of the Isaac Bashevis Singer novel about a Holocaust survivor's complicated love life in New York. Engrossing performances from Ron Silver, Arjelica Huston, Lena Olin. 1990.

FELLOW TRAVELLER (BF) Connoisseur, 15) Michael Eaton's intelligent drama about the backlist era, directed by Philip Saville with Hart Bochner and Ron Silver as Hollywood radicals variously coping with the McCarthy nightmare 1989.

KINGS OF THE ROAD (BF) Connoisseur, 18) Wim Wenders in his road-movie mood, following two men in their personal odyssey along the border between the two Germanies. Lyrical, exuberant, thought-provoking, and long (170 minutes) 1976.

MARK BROTHERS (MGM/UA, U) Boxed set of three comedies from the MGM period, when conventional plots and romance began to sap the team's anarchy. One strong title, *A Day at the*

Races, props up two weaker brethren — *Go West* and *The Big Store*. SANTA SANGRE (Palace 18) Blood-soaked fantasy set in a travelling circus, from cinema's wild man Alejandro Jodorowsky — returning to the director's chair after a ten year gap. Extraordinary, surreal, and disturbing 1989.

SHE-DEVIL (Virgin Vision, 15) Susan Siedelman's wayward rendition of Fay Weldon's novel about a humpy housewife's revenge on society. Rosanne Barr and Meryl Streep attack their material with relish, but the book's barbs emerge muffled 1990.

THE THREE MUSKETEERS (MGM/UA, U) Handsome, irreverent MGM spectacular, which seems almost a musical — instead of bursting into song and dance, Gene Kelly (*O' Aargh*) bursts into swordfights to the strains of Tchaikovsky. Lana Turner dazzles as Lady de Winter 1948.

TOM AND JERRY (MGM/UA, U) Five collections of cat-and-mouse antics are newly available — all jumping through the decades, though the simplified cartoons of the late Fifties and Sixties dominate. Acceptable possibly for youngsters, aggravating for adult connoisseurs.

TREASURE ISLAND (MGM/UA, U) Wallace Beery as Long John Silver and Jackie Cooper as "Jim", in a polished version of Stevenson's yarn that picks up gusto as it proceeds. Director, Victor Fleming 1934.

GEOFF BROWN

LONDON FILM FESTIVAL

Re-awakening a silent splendour

Geoff Brown on a British classic making a comeback

WHEN silent movies are given the gala treatment of live, full-blown musical accompaniment, British cinema tends to get trampled by the big guns from Hollywood and France. True, we have never made a giant of a film like *Napoleon* or *Ben Hur*, but the national output had its moments in the late Twenties, particularly when a young Alfred Hitchcock was at the helm.

On Sunday morning, at the Lumière cinema, the London Film Festival hosts the Union Jack and exhumes E.A. Dupont's *Moulin Rouge* — a spectacular production in its day, which won wide praise from the critics. "Britain's first super-film," said the *Star* daily Graphic, "dazzlingly brilliant photographic quality," pronounced the *Daily Telegraph*, "Really marvellous," cooed the *News of the World*. The original presentation was accompanied by a pot-pourri of popular melodies; Sunday's audience will be treated to a new score, imaginatively commissioned by the British Film Institute from the jazz composer Mike Westbrook.

Moulin Rouge was made at Elstree by British International Pictures, and the company took the "international" seriously. The director, chief cameraman and art director were from Germany, where the star, Olga Tschechowa, a White Russian (and Chekhov's niece), had also carved her career. France supplied the leading man, Jean Brabin, and the setting — the Parisian cabaret where Tschechowa performs exotic gyrations and wins the love of a well-bred young man who had initially planned to marry her daughter.

Dupont is largely forgotten now, yet his 1925 circus melodrama, *Varley* — hugely successful with international audiences — made him cinema's golden boy for a time. The Elstree studio proudly placed him under contract and gave their star director un-

limited resources: he clearly spent them on elaborate visuals and mobile camera work rather than the story. At its debut, *Moulin Rouge* weighed in at a corpulent 144 minutes. Audiences grew restless, even with Tschechowa's lustrous performance, and about 50 minutes were quickly trimmed off. The revival uses the slimline version.

Westbrook is no stranger to dramatic music. His large-scale jazz compositions often have a narrative thrust; he has written background scores for the National Theatre and plans to write an opera. However, *Moulin Rouge* marks his cinema debut. For instrumentation, he is using the perky chamber group of Stravinsky's *The Soldier's Tale*. Sunday's players are the Matrix Ensemble, conducted by Robert Ziegler, who demonstrated his feel for music theatre with his programmes of Elster and Weill at the recent Almeida festivals. He promises a score that is "bluesy, surprising, and very eclectic".

The chamber scoring means Westbrook's music can be easily toured, bringing *Moulin Rouge* to wider audiences. The film will also be seen on BBC 2 — the first, it is hoped, of a series of silent revivals with new scores, including Murnau's *Faust*, Jacob Protazanov's crazy fantasy *Aelita* and the silent version of Hitchcock's *Blackmail*.

Has Dupont's time finally come again? It would be pleasant to think so. For the golden boy had rotten luck once sound came in. Dialogue made his films seem ponderous; Nazi tyranny shunted him to Hollywood, where he was struck off the books for 11 years after punching one of the Dead End Kids, who had been taunting him about his accent.

Moulin Rouge, with Westbrook's music, recalls a vanished, adventurous age of film-making, just before the microphone turned all studios into towers of Babel. There is nothing here that needs sweeping, sheepishly, under the carpet.

© *Moulin Rouge* is being presented on November 18 at 11am at the Lumière cinema. Tickets from the National Film Theatre (071-928 3232).

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High point in British cinema: Dupont's *Moulin Rouge*

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150 Oxford Street London W1

By STEWART TENDLER
CRIME CORRESPONDENT

Sir John stopped sitting publicly earlier this year after hearings on the Maguire case and is now taking written evidence. The delays mean the settlement of compensation for the four Guildford defendants may also be delayed.



Meanwhile English Heritage acquired their most expensive painting after secretly bidding for it at Sotheby's in London yesterday (Simon Tait writes). View from the *Cascade Terrace*, *Chiswick*, by George Lambert and William Hogarth, was bought for £200,000, £50,000 less than the expected price, with help from the National Heritage Memorial Fund, the National Art Collections Fund and the London Historic House Museums Trust.

MATTHEW PARRIS

The map illustrates the geographical context of the Jordan link. Key features include:

- Lebanon:** Located to the north, with Beirut marked.
- Syria:** Located to the northeast, with Damascus marked.
- Jordan:** The central focus, with Amman marked.
- Israel:** Located to the southwest, with Jerusalem marked.
- Egypt:** Located to the west.
- Saudi Arabia:** Located to the south.
- Iraq:** Located to the east, with Baghdad marked.
- Israeli-occupied territory:** Indicated by a hatched pattern in the Golan Heights and West Bank.
- Jerusalem Link:** A shaded area connecting the West Bank to Jerusalem.
- West Bank Palestinians and fears for King Hussein's stability:** A text box highlighting the political implications of the Jordan link.
- Hezbollah and Arafat militias reported to be moving from south Beirut towards security zone:** A text box indicating military movements in Lebanon.
- Possible nuclear threat within two years:** A text box discussing regional nuclear capabilities.
- Present missile capability:** A table listing missile ranges for various actors:

Actor	Missile Range (miles)
Saudi-B	175
Al-Hussein	375
Al-Abbas	580
Tammuz-1	1,250
- Scale:** 50 miles.

He put on his glasses and read his statement. Mrs. Heselton looked at him adoringly, and a one stage conspicuously crossed her fingers. PC Donaghy muttered "He's standing" into his lapel.

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Recession is nationwide CBI confirms

By PHILIP BASSETT, INDUSTRIAL EDITOR

ALL regions are now in recession, with every area of the country reporting falling output and orders and forecasting further job losses.

The regional results of the CBI's Industrial Trends Survey, published yesterday, show a marked turnaround from the last regional report three months ago, when five of the 11 economic regions were expecting rising production. Then, East Anglia, Scotland, the North, the East Midlands and Northern Ireland were all forecasting rising output.

All regions report a decline in new orders in the past four months and expect the trend to continue. The recessionary impact of the decline is not uniform, with the South East and the West Midlands among the worst hit regions, now joined by East Anglia, which has seen its economic performance fall markedly since the last survey.

Optimism is now declining all round, with sharp falls in East Anglia, where a balance of 66 per cent of businesses surveyed believe the overall economic position will worsen. In Scotland the bal-

ance is 37 per cent and, in Northern Ireland and the East Midlands, the figure is 33 per cent.

The regional figures are breakdowns of the national trends survey, which saw the largest drop in business confidence for ten years, and prompted the CBI both to declare a recession and to call for a further reduction in interest rates.

Andrew Sentance, the CBI's economic director, said the principal reasons for the regional uniformity were weakened export prospects caused by Gulf uncertainty, widespread stock reductions by companies and further declines in investment spending and intentions.

Every region reports an acceleration in average unit costs, with sharp increases expected in East Anglia and Yorkshire and Humberside.

● The Centre for Dispute Resolution was launched at the CBI in London yesterday. It aims to use American techniques for settling commercial business disputes without the expense and delay of court hearings.

Insurers plunge as claims rise

By ANGELA MACKAY

INCREASED claims and competition, combined with slowing economic activity, continued to depress Commercial Union and General Accident, the composite insurers, with the latter reporting a bigger than expected pre-tax loss of £73.3 million for the nine months to end-September, compared with a profit of £137 million in the same period last year.

As a result, General Accident will raise its rates for motor, home and commercial property insurance. The company said its private car rates would rise in January and indicated that homeowners' rates would go up 10 per cent early next year while commercial property rates were also being increased.

Commercial Union reported a sharp fall in pre-tax profits for the nine months from £110.3 million to £27.2 million, mainly as a result of underwriting losses caused by storms in January and February. CU is expected to announce premium increases soon.

"While the profit and loss accounts paint a bleak picture, they just start to tell the story," said David Hudson, composite insurance analyst at Barclays de Zoete Wedd.

"The worst things are found in the balance sheet where shareholders' funds have shrunk alarmingly, which raises the question why the companies are trading at such



Reflecting fall in world markets: Tony Barend, chief executive at Commercial Union

a big premium to assets." Mr Hudson said that at the beginning of the year, CU's shareholders' funds stood at £1.71 billion compared with £1.2 billion at the end of September. General Accident funds plunged from £2.55 billion to £1.5 billion.

CU shares dropped 12p to 445p and General Accident fell 3p to 434p.

Tony Barend, the CU chief executive, said the drop in shareholders' funds reflected

the fall in worldwide stock markets and overseas currency values compared with sterling.

"The result reflected a continuation of the downward trend in our UK earnings due to increased subsidence claims, a greater incidence of large claims and a continued high level of competition for non-life business," he added.

General Accident said its third-quarter British underwriting loss of £88 million

(£77 million loss) was due principally to house subsidence, which cost £18 million, and a continued depression in the motor insurance market.

CU's underwriting loss of £92.2 million, compared with a profit of £0.4 million in the first nine months of last year, was due mainly to the two storms in the first quarter, which cost £40 million, the cost of subsidence claims and the effects of competition.

BUSINESS ROUNDUP

Gooding expansion will create 500 jobs

AN ANGLO-JAPANESE venture to manufacture electrical parts for domestic appliances and office machinery, such as photocopiers, will give a boost for jobs in South Wales.

Gooding Sanken, which began making switch mode power supply units in South Wales in June, is planning an expansion which will mean 500 new jobs. The company is 51 per cent owned by Gooding Group, a private company controlled by Alf Gooding, the Welsh entrepreneur. The other shares are held by Sanken Electric Company of Japan, which supplies the technology. Gooding Sanken already employs 100 people in South Wales. It plans to take a new 75,000 square foot factory in Cynon Valley, and increase output to 150,000 units a year by 1993.

Rights issue at J. England

J. ENGLAND, the food distribution group, is restructuring its balance sheet with a two for one rights issue at 25p, which will raise £2.9 million. The issue, which will involve creating 12.2 million new shares, will reduce bank borrowings and be used to fund additional working capital requirements. Shares in the group fell 1p to 24p.

Clearmark gives warning

CLEARMARK Group, the USM-quoted leisure to publishing group, says trading has been difficult since September and it expects "a major shortfall" against the year-end expectation. About 80 per cent of its business is done around Christmas. Clearmark said it has its bankers' support and that the final stage of a restructuring will begin this week.

Hadleigh rises 67%

INTERIM pre-tax profits at Hadleigh Industries Group, the storage tank to trailer manufacturer, advanced by 67 per cent to £1.1 million to end-September. Group turnover rose to £17.5 million (£8.94 million).

Figures benefited from contributions from Ripple, the jewellery display cabinet company bought in April, and Lynton, the lightweight trailer maker acquired last December. The two companies made a combined contribution of £570,000 to operating profits with £5.6 million turnover. Earnings per share are 10.4p (9.1p). The interim dividend is 2.2p (2p).

Setback for Arthur Shaw

THE decline in building activity has taken its toll at Arthur Shaw, the USM window fittings group. Pre-tax profits fell from £559,000 to £235,000 in the half year to end-September on turnover slightly down from £6.49 million to £5.36 million. Earnings per share declined from 4.7p to 2.0p, although the interim dividend is maintained at 1.3p.

Dividend cut at Five Oaks

FIVE Oaks Investments, the property group, has cut its final dividend from 1p to 0.4p after reporting pre-tax profits down from an adjusted £4.93 million to £637,000 for the year to end-June. This reduces the total from 1.6p to 1p. Turnover dropped from £17.5 million to £9.4 million and fully diluted earnings per share from 8.41p to 3.13p.

Principal Hotels dips

PRINCIPAL Hotels Group has passed its final dividend after pre-tax profits slipped from £1.46 million to £1.11 million in the year to end-June. The disposal of Douglas Le Mare and the writing-down of assets within the financial services division, with provisions on non-hotel properties and reorganisation expenses, led to extraordinary losses of £6.97 million. There is no final dividend, making a total of 1p (2p). Earnings per share fell from 5.3p to 3.3p. The board plans to recommend total dividends of at least 1p for the current year if profits are maintained.

Dunhill poised for acquisitions

By COLIN CAMPBELL

DUNHILL Holdings, the luxury goods group that six months ago boasted net cash of £117.7 million, believes potential takeover targets are coming within its sights.

Sior Pendle, managing director, said: "We have waited a long time for asking prices of branded goods groups to come down to more sensible levels, and the time looks like fast approaching."

Dunhill, where Rothmans International has a 55.18 per cent stake, reported pre-tax profits up from £23.7 million to £33.6 million for the six

months ended September 30. Turnover, however, fell from £122.5 million to £118.6 million. The interim dividend rises from 2p to 2.6p a share, covered 4.8 times by net earnings of 12.4p a share.

Investment income continued to rise on the back of stronger cash balances, though no details are given at the interim stage. Dunhill said trading in its various markets was mixed, but as long as the world economic outlook and the situation in the Gulf did not deteriorate, it should be a good second half.

CE Heath slips to £10.2m

By OUR CITY STAFF

CE HEATH, the insurance broker, says interim pre-tax profits to September 30 fell from £10.6 million to £10.2 million, but the group indicates that there should be a stronger profits flow in the second half.

Broking expenses increased from £27.5 million to £34.5 million, while worldwide brokerage income rose from £26.2 million to £31.7 million. There was an underwriting profit of £6.5 million (£6.8 million). Investment and other income rose from £14.8 million to £16.4 million.

Group turnover in the six months was £61.2 million compared with £49.5 million last time.

Richard Fielding, the chairman, believes the turning point has been reached where insurance and reinsurance rates will start to harden. However, while economic conditions have not so far had a material impact on results at the computer services division, sales are being held back by a fall in business confidence.

CE Heath is maintaining the interim dividend at 7.5p a share. The shares traded 6p lower at 421p.

The company recently confirmed it was in talks with Johnson and Higgins, America's third largest broker, with a view to the Americans taking a stake in Heath. Johnson and Higgins is also said to be talking to other British insurance broking groups.

Heath said there had been no fresh developments on which it could comment.

ACT tops £5m in first half

ACT Group, the former computer hardware company which has been transformed into a software group following May's £29 million disposal of Apricot Computers' hardware business to Mitsubishi Electric, reports a surge in half-year profits. Pre-tax profits jumped from £2.02 million to £5.36 million in the six months to end-September.

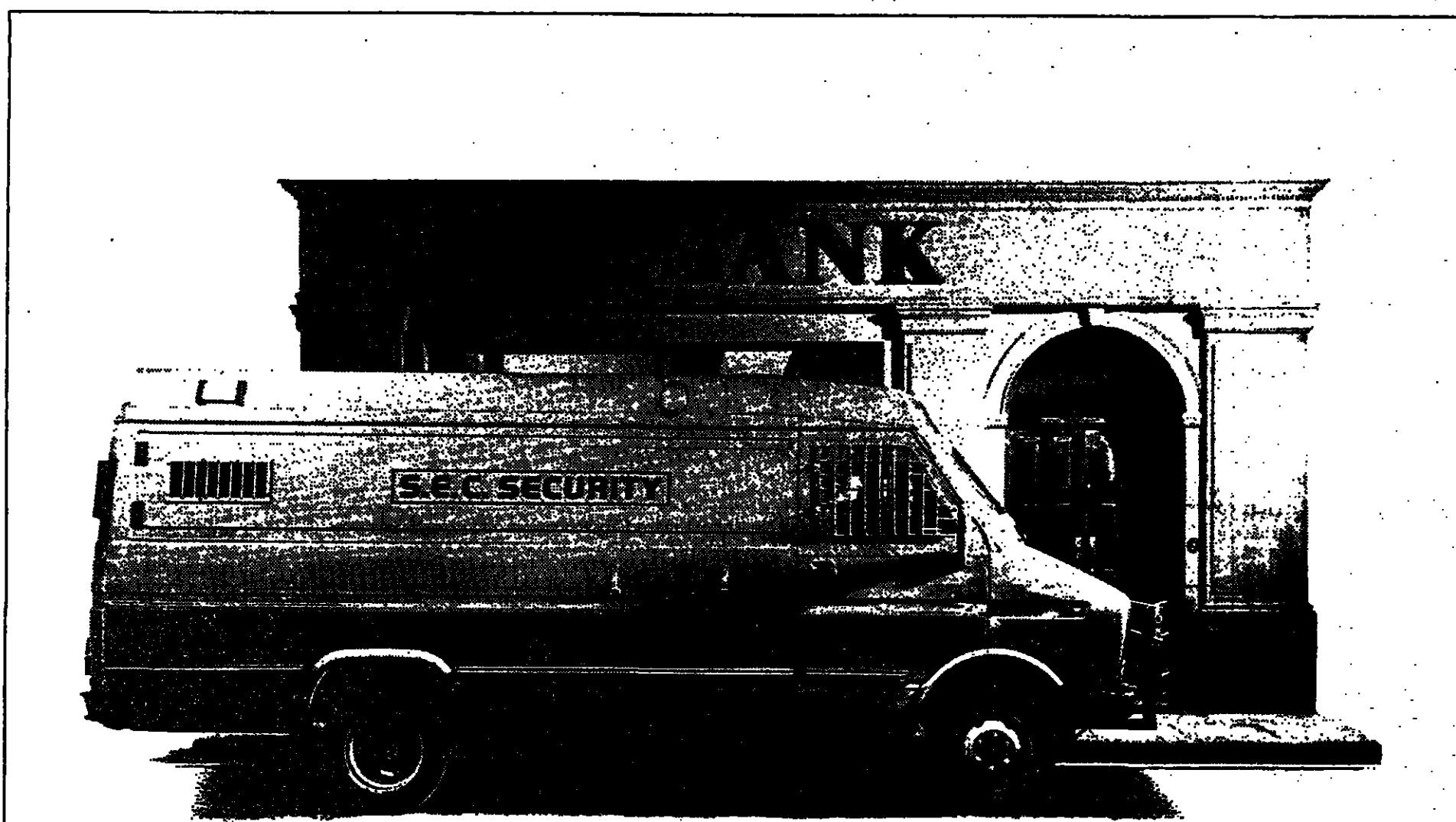
Turnover slipped from £56.4 million to £46.2 million due to the disposal of the hardware division. Shareholders will receive an interim dividend of 1.25p (0.75p) as well as a 5p special dividend, making a total of 6.25p for the six-month period. Earnings per share jumped from 1.86p to 4.01p. The disposal of the Apricot hardware division led to an extraordinary credit of £14.2 million.

Roger Foster, ACT's chairman, said: "We're extremely cash-strong." The company is sitting on a cash mountain of about £25 million, which will be used for acquisitions in the longer term.

Whitbread asset value declines

The net asset value at Whitbread Investment Company, the investment trust specialising in brewers, slipped to 568.1p a share at end-September compared with 661.2p a year earlier.

Pre-tax revenue advanced from £5.84 million to £7 million in the six months to end-September. Earnings per share rose from 6.93p to 8.32p and the interim dividend is 3.95p (3.35p).



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Pound slumps as markets react to Heseltine challenge



Major: no reaction to his recession speech

By ANATOLE KALETSKY
ECONOMICS EDITOR

STERLING fell sharply to its lowest level against the mark since mid-summer as investors responded with a mixture of dismay and disbelief to Michael Heseltine's challenge against Margaret Thatcher. However, trading volumes remained surprisingly subdued and analysts in London and overseas said that the financial markets had not yet discounted a serious possibility that Mrs Thatcher might cease to be prime minister within the next few weeks. There was no reaction to a Commons statement by John Major, the Chancellor, confirming his comment that the economy was probably in recession. The pound declined by two

pennings and half a cent to DM2.8850 and \$1.9605, after falling decisively below DM2.90 shortly before Mr Heseltine made his announcement yesterday morning. Share and bond prices were also weak, but traded within fairly narrow ranges. The FT-SE 100 index ended only 10 points down at 2,046.0 and gilt-edged prices fell by between 1/4 and 1/2 points. Several analysts predicted that there would be worse to come as the seriousness of Mr Heseltine's challenge sank in among overseas investors. The Japanese in particular were likely to turn into heavy sellers of sterling assets if Mrs Thatcher was defeated, they predicted. "As far as the Japanese are concerned, Margaret Thatcher is Britain," said Jim O'Neill, chief economist at

Swiss Bank Corporation. "Few investors outside Europe know anything about Heseltine or understand this threat. There could be a bit of panic as the reality sinks in." David Hale, chief economist at Kemper Financial Services, a big money management firm based in Chicago, said: "The fall in the pound so far has simply been a reflection of Thatcher's difficulties in managing the British economy. Nobody is discounting that she might not be prime minister by next week. The chances are that Heseltine would not command the respect of the markets, at least at first. He is almost unknown among investors. If he is remembered, it is as someone who was on the weak side during all the difficult decisions Thatcher had to take in the 1980s."

Mr Hale and other analysts noted that the pound's decline in the past few days may have been caused less by political factors than by disillusionment with the exchange rate guarantees supposedly provided by the ERM. Until last week, DM2.88 was widely considered to be the effective ERM floor for sterling, because this level marked the intervention point against the Spanish peseta. During the past few days, however, the peseta has started falling against the mark and this has reduced sterling's effective floor to below DM2.85. "The market is gradually realising that the ERM floor is made of elastic. The pound has dragged the peseta down with it and this could continue all the way down to DM2.7780," Peter Spencer, chief

UK economist at Shearson Lehman, said. Adding to the concern about sterling has been a spate of rumours about German pressure for a realignment of ERM exchange rates. Richard Medley, a Washington investment manager and political consultant, said that the German Bundesbank was making it clear that it wanted to revalue the mark, especially against high-inflation ERM currencies like sterling, the lira and the peseta. At present the concern about German policies and the near-certainty of another interest rate cut in America on Friday is dominating the markets' attention. But by next week, he predicted, the challenge to Mrs Thatcher "is going to take centre stage".

Young denies Rover trade-off

By SHEILA GUNN
POLITICAL REPORTER

LORD Young of Grafton, the former trade secretary, strongly denied offering special treatment to future applications for state aid by British Aerospace in exchange for buying the Rover car group. He dismissed suggestions by members of the Commons trade committee that a letter from his office promising BAE applications would be "sympathetically considered" proved there was a trade-off between the sale and future government grants.

The letter, signed on his behalf, came to light in July as the committee was finishing its report on the hidden "sweeteners" offered to BAE when buying Rover. The letter led the MPs to recall Lord Young and Professor Roland Smith, BAE's chairman. Dated July 14, 1988, when BAE was threatening to back out of the sale, it stated that buying Rover would not prevent the company from receiving government funds for other projects. The letter added: "... the government would take fully into account not simply the overall financial position of British Aerospace but also the demands placed upon it by the performance and obligations of the Rover Group businesses".

Lord Young told the committee: "What this letter does is repeat the law of the land. It gives comfort to BAE that they will not be denied help in applying for launch aid for the air frame industry."

BAe is challenging a European Commission ruling that over £44 million in illegal sweeteners be repaid by the group.

Professor Smith told the committee there was no suggestion of a trade-off. His concern had been that the original terms of the sale would constrain BAE in applying for state aid for other projects. "We needed this sort of comment to be made for the fact that we had taken a very high-risk decision."

The committee heard that letters from the trade department to BAE about the deal had no reference numbers. The letter discussing sympathetic treatment had to be obtained from BAE because the DTI was unable to produce its copy. Later, Douglas Hoyle, senior Labour member on the committee, called for Peter Lilley, the trade secretary, to make clear whether he would feel obliged to "treat sympathetically" any applications for grants from BAE.

BA shares hit all-time low after warning

By GRAHAM SEARJEANT, FINANCIAL EDITOR

SHARES in British Airways fell to an all-time low after Lord King, the chairman, warned shareholders that the airline did not expect to make profits in the seasonally weak second half because of the rise in fuel costs and effects of recession. Despite a strong first-half performance, much better than other international airlines, BA shares dropped to 127p at one point, just 2p above their issue price in February 1987. They recovered to 131p later, down 7p on the day.

Unexpectedly, the interim dividend was left unchanged at 2.8p from earnings up 35p per cent to 31.5p per share. Profits for the first six months to end-September were better than expected, rising 24 per cent to £320 million before tax, on sales up

8 per cent to £2.75 billion. Operating profit was slightly lower but BA made £43 million from aircraft and other asset sales, compared with £6 million a year ago. In the second quarter, however, the squeeze was intensified by the rise in oil prices in August, turnover was only 4.6 per cent up on the year before and pre-tax profits were stationary.

Prices are being progressively raised to recover the higher fuel costs but demand has come under pressure on the Atlantic, the Middle East and domestic routes. Customers are also avoiding the price rises by trading down from Concorde and first class seats to cheaper classes.

The number of sitting passengers grew by about 8 per cent in the first half although business was not so good after the invasion of Kuwait, which affected less than two months of trading. BA flew 123 per cent more passenger kilometres, well ahead of the industry average, but demand has fallen off rapidly in the past few weeks, usually the worst in the airline calendar, and is now running only about 3 per cent ahead of last year.

BA has bought about a quarter of its fuel forward until the financial year end in March. It will then be exposed to the full effect of increased costs. The price of aviation fuel has risen more steeply than crude oil, trebling at its highest and doubling on average, mainly due to extra military flying and stockpiling. BA also has one aircraft stranded in Kuwait along with some passengers and crew and is not

insured against loss of income. Depending on future fuel price changes, however, Lord King said: "I would not expect to make any significant loss or, indeed, any loss at all" in the second half. BA has embarked on a series of cost-cutting programmes but Lord King emphasised that BA saw the industry's slump as a short-term problem that the company was much better placed to withstand than most of its competitors. He said: "At this stage, we do not expect to follow the lead of some of our competitors in announcing large-scale redundancies, the sale of prime routes, the cancellation of aircraft orders or auctioning of key assets."

The winter half of the year is normally much less profitable. BA made £86 million pre-tax in the second half of 1989-90. If BA broke even in the second half, its annual profits would fall only 7 per cent. Sir Colin Marshall, BA's chief executive, said that the possible sale of Pan American's Atlantic routes to United Airlines, BA's former partner, would not have a dramatic effect on BA because only 2 per cent of its transatlantic traffic was generated through the agreement.

Lord King said BA would not be deflected from its strategy of global expansion by short-term trading problems. Negotiations are going on to establish Air Russia as a joint venture. BA is still resisting concessions to European Community competition authorities over its link with Sabena.

Comment, page 31

VSEL warning hints at big job losses at yard

By ROSS TIERMAN, INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

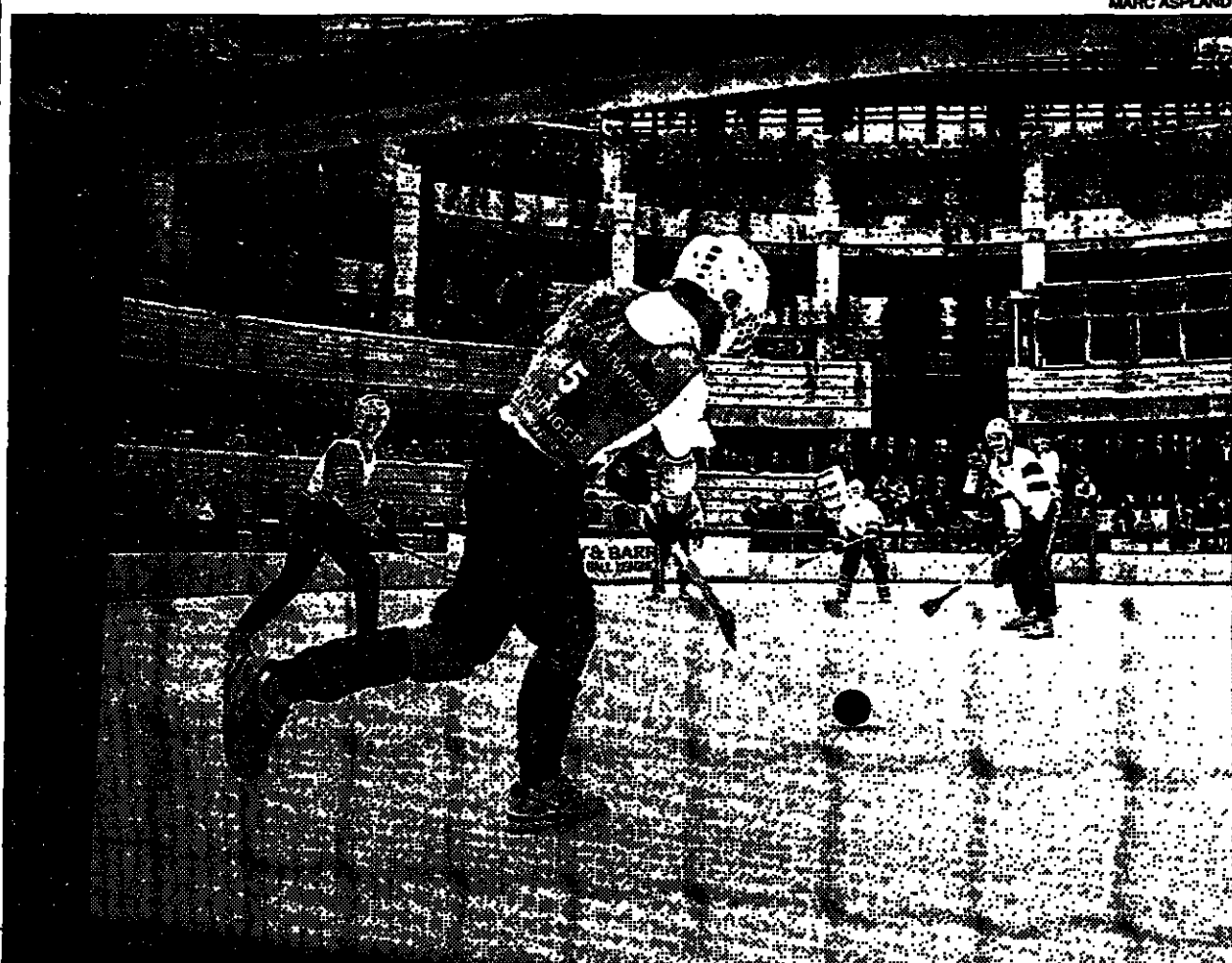
BIG job losses at Britain's biggest warship building yard at Barrow-in-Furness were foreshadowed after VSEL, the yard's owner, gave warning of extraordinary costs coming at the year end.

Noel Davies, chief executive, said details of the outcashes would not be available yet, but one analyst predicted that 2,000 to 3,000 jobs could be lost from the 13,000-strong workforce by the end of next year.

VSEL's restructuring will result from the review of defence strategy this year. The company has already put its Cammell Laird shipyard at Birkenhead, where 2,000 people work, up for sale and it is optimistic about finding a buyer. VSEL lifted pre-tax interim profits by 36 per cent

to £16.5 million, on near-static sales of £247.9 million to end-September. The order for a third £500 million Trident nuclear missile submarine, placed on Wednesday lifts the order book to £3.5 billion. Talks will begin soon over the contract for the final boat in the series.

The Barrow yard's workload is expected to decline rapidly as other warships under construction are completed. Mr Davies said that VSEL, which has no borrowings, will be able to fund the costs of the run-down from cash flow. It has high hopes of export orders for its AS90 self-propelled 155mm howitzer. The shares, up 16p yesterday to 370p, set at just 4.1 years' prospective earnings on a likely yield of 7.9 per cent.



BROOMBALL returns to the Square Mile next month with many City companies putting up teams to battle at the open air ice rink at the Broadgate development. Helmeted players spend ten minutes slipping and sliding over the ice in teams of four, hitting a ball with a broom. The lucky winners will receive the Taittinger Trophy.

Thorn sells most lamp interests in £69m deal

By MICHAEL TATE
DEPUTY CITY EDITOR

THORN EMI is selling the bulk of its loss-making lamp operations to General Electric, of America, in a deal that could bring in £69 million.

Thorn will transfer most of its European light source interests to a new company in which GE will have a 51 per cent stake, and management control, and Thorn will hold the remaining 49 per cent. After three years, GE will acquire Thorn's minority holding in the company.

News of the deal accompanied interim results from Thorn, showing a fall in pre-tax profits to £96.2 million (£108.1 million).

Group basic earnings per share slipped to 20.1p (23p), but the interim dividend is up to 9p (8.5p). *Tempus, page 31*

Davy chief goes
ROGER Kingston has resigned as chief executive of Davy, the engineering contractor, amid growing institutional concern about the company's future. He is being replaced by Patrick McTigue, deputy chief executive.

The shake-up fuelled speculation that the firm is set to announce a sharp fall in interim profits from £28 million before tax. Shares in Davy fell an additional 4p to 69p, capitalising the company at less than £82 million, compared with £277 million just five months ago.

Comment, page 31

Boots jewel glows with health

By GILLIAN BOWDITCH

BOOTS the Chemist, the jewel in the crown of The Boots Company, is weathering the recession better than nearly any other chain in the high street. The business, which boosted trading profits by 40.2 per cent to £88 million in the six months to end-September, is expecting to hold up well this Christmas.

Sir James Blyth, Boots' chief executive, said Christ-

mas would be tough but he expects Boots to take more than its fair share of the spending. Boots' total pre-tax profits were £162 million, up 1.1 per cent. Sales rose 21.7 per cent to £1.73 billion and trading profits 26.3 per cent to £188 million.

The interest charge more than doubled to £26.8 million because of the £900 million acquisition of Ward White last

year. Earnings per share fell 4.3 per cent to 11.2p but the interim dividend goes up 6.5 per cent to 4.1p. The Ward White acquisition produced disappointing results.

However, Sir James believed that, in the longer term, the deal would prove to be a good one for Boots. Shares in Boots rose 3p to 316p.

Tempus, page 31

Land Secs beats gloom with £102m

LAND Securities, Britain's biggest property company, has confounded the gloom in the property market with an interim rise in pre-tax profits from £80.8 million to £102.7 million to end-September.

The interim dividend is raised to 5.5p (4.75p). Shareholders were told not to expect a similar increase in the second half. Pre-tax profits are not expected to differ materially from those earned in the first half.

The first-half jump came after a rise in rental income to £162.3 million (£130.9 million). Earnings per share increased to 13.24p (10.42p). Land Securities will announce the results of the latest review of its portfolio at the financial year end. Most analysts expect some fall from the 87p announced in May.

Almost all Land Securities' completed office developments are now fully let.

Tempus, page 31

Japanese go green with the prince

From JOE JOSEPH IN TOKYO

WHILE the Princess of Wales spoke to welders and wheel-changers at a Honda car factory in the suburbs of Tokyo, the Prince of Wales spent his 42nd birthday trying to persuade the leaders of Japanese boardrooms that the world faced doom unless capitalists started caring for it more.

Urging executives from companies such as Sony, Nissan, Toyota, and Mitsubishi to search their souls as well as their balance sheets, he said: "We have failed, in a sense, to renew the relationship between our creator, creation itself and our contract with life. In fact, we, more than any previous generations, have gone in some cases to the extremes of proclaiming that there is no creator with whom to have a relationship. "We tend to behave as if all that needs to be done is for rational man to go on being more and more rational. There is

only a short step from this approach, I think, to the conviction that our salvation lies exclusively in technology.

"Our planet is endangered and somehow we have to recover our emotions about nature and the earth... Somehow we have to rediscover, as it were, the concept of the knight in search of a life of service and value."

It was the first time that a member of a royal family had addressed senior members of the Keidanren, Japan's CBI, but not the first time that Japanese businessmen had been reminded of their sometimes haphazard concern for the environment. The prince's aim was to beat the drum for the Prince of Wales Business Leaders Forum, a discussion group formed in February in Charleston, South Carolina, with the goal of a new deal where capitalism takes on a "more human expression". The meeting drew more than 100 of the world's leading

businessmen, from Iain Vallance, chairman of British Telecom, to T Boone Pickens, the Texan oilman. But the prince has been aware that, without Japanese involvement, the discussion group would lack some powerful voices.

The Keidanren said yesterday that they, too, would urge their members to join. Young Japanese business leaders also agreed to a proposal by the prince to help entrepreneurs in eastern Europe.

The prince argued for companies to be good corporate citizens because "the activities of businesses in sensitive areas beyond their national shores, such as in the tropical rain forests, in the oceans and in the developing countries, have become a legitimate concern, whether people like it or not, to stakeholders in other words, a company's customers, employees, suppliers and local communities, as well as financial shareholders everywhere."

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War risk lifts Ultramar

By MARTIN BARROW

ULTRAMAR, the diversified oil and gas group, has reported strong growth in third quarter earnings, reflecting high levels of refining margins in North America triggered by the threat of war in the Gulf.

In the three months to the end of September net profits almost tripled from £15.5 million to £44.6 million, while earnings rose from 4.2p a share to 12.1p.

Net profits for the first nine months of the year were £78.9 million, against £76.2 million, despite the adverse effects of currency movements that masked a 20 per cent increase in underlying dollar earnings. Earnings per share rose from

20.8p to 21.4p. On a replacement cost basis, which removes the financial impact of stockholdings, profits rose from £21.7 million to £32.9 million during the third quarter and from £67.2 million to £75.7 million during the first nine months.

Most of the increase in third quarter profits was attributed to downstream activities, which doubled earnings to £52.5 million. Consumer prices in eastern Canada and California were slow to reflect the rise in international prices but higher refinery throughputs in Quebec and Wilmington and strong Californian wholesale margins more than

offset the squeeze on retail operations.

Profits from upstream activities increased from £8.1 million to £10 million after an increase in gas production from 467.8 million cubic feet of gas per day to a record 494.6 million. Third quarter volumes of liquefied natural gas from the Botang plant in Indonesia set a record, reflecting the build-up of deliveries to Taiwan and additional sales to Japan.

John Darby, the chairman, said that during the fourth quarter refining margins in California were unlikely to repeat record third quarter levels.



General Accident

NINE-MONTHS' RESULTS

The results of the General Accident Group for the nine months ended 30th September 1990, estimated and unaudited, are compared below with those for the similar period in 1989, which are restated at 31st December 1989 rates of exchange; also shown are the actual results for the full year 1989.

It must be emphasised that the results for an interim period do not usually provide a reliable indication of those for the full year.

	9 Months to 30.9.90 Estimate £ millions	9 Months to 30.9.89 Estimate £ millions	Year Actual £ millions
Premium Income			
General Business	2,336.5	2,333.6	3,100.2
Long Term Business	308.1	278.2	381.3
	2,636.6	2,611.8	3,481.5
Investment Income			
NZL Bank Result	314.1	340.9	462.7
Estate Agency Result	(10.1)	(41.0)	(47.6)
Underwriting	(14.8)	(12.6)	(20.5)
General Business Result	(311.1)	(125.9)	(203.8)
Long Term Business Profits	14.3	15.5	26.9
	(7.6)	176.9	217.7
Less Interest on Loans			
U.K. Employee Profit Sharing Scheme	65.7	39.8	64.5
			6.2
Profit (Loss) before Taxation	(73.3)	137.1	147.0
Taxation - U.K. and Overseas	(18.1)	40.9	32.1
Profit (Loss) after Taxation	(55.2)	96.2	114.9
Minority Interests and Preference Dividends	(2.5)	(13.4)	(13.7)
	(52.7)	109.6	128.6
Long Term Business Profits - GA Life 1988 Valuation			9.5
Net Profit (Loss) attributable to Shareholders	(52.7)	109.6	138.1
Earnings per Ordinary Share	(12.3p)	26.0p	32.6p
Principal exchange rates used in translating overseas results			
U.S.A.	\$1.57	\$1.61	\$1.61
Canada	\$2.16	\$1.87	\$1.87

- Notes
- (1) Under a Scheme of Arrangement sanctioned by the Court of Session under Section 425 of The Companies Act 1985 and effective on 5th July, 1990 the shareholders of General Accident Fire and Life Assurance Corporation plc received for each share then held, two new shares of 25p each fully paid in General Accident plc.
 - (2) Investment Income excludes £8.2m (1989 £9.4m) representing amortisation of U.S. deep discount bonds which under the U.S.A. accounting conventions would be credited to earnings.
 - (3) The NZL Bank result includes gains and losses both realised and unrealised on investments held for trading purposes.
 - (4) The transfer of shareholders' profit from the long term business fund is stated gross of taxation and on a current year basis.

ANALYSIS BY TERRITORY OF GENERAL BUSINESS PREMIUM INCOME AND UNDERWRITING RESULT

	9 months to 30.9.90 Premium Underwriting Income Result £m	9 months to 30.9.89 Premium Underwriting Income Result £m
U.K.	877.9 (130.0)	784.1 25.5
U.S.A.	648.3 (63.4)	691.2 (70.2)
EEC other than U.K.	126.5 (35.2)	132.1 (20.3)
Canada	271.7 (0.7)	283.1 (6.3)
Pacific	246.7 (39.1)	268.6 (10.6)
Other Overseas	76.7 (13.6)	74.8 (1.1)
London Market Business incl. Internal Reins.	88.7 (29.1)	99.7 (42.9)
	2,336.5 (311.1)	2,333.6 (125.9)

Net written premiums increased in sterling terms by 0.1% while investment income fell by 7.9%. Adjusted to exclude the effects of currency fluctuations, the increase in premiums was 8.4% and the reduction in investment income, which continued to reflect the impact on cash flow of higher claims costs, was 1.1%.

In the third quarter there was a worldwide underwriting loss of £88.0m [1989 £77.0m loss] with losses in the United Kingdom of £35.5m [1989 £6.4m profit] and in the United States of £18.2m [1989 £36.3m loss]. Elsewhere there were aggregate underwriting losses of £34.3m [1989 £47.1m loss]. The pre-tax loss for the quarter amounted to £5.4m [1989 £15.1m profit].

For the nine months there was an underwriting loss of £130.0m [1989 £25.5m profit] in the U.K. The Homeowners' account produced a loss of £28.0m [1989 £10.6m profit] having been adversely affected by the cost of severe weather in the first quarter and by the cost of subsidence claims particularly in the third quarter. The Commercial Property account continued to suffer from weather related claims in the first quarter and from an increased incidence of large fire losses to produce a loss of £40.7m [1989 £13.0m profit] for the nine months. The Motor account produced a loss at the third quarter of £40.7m [1989 £3.0m profit] reflecting a continued increase in claims frequency and average cost of claims. The Liability account deteriorated in the third quarter.

In the United States, net written premiums were \$1,212m [1989 \$1,113m] with an operating ratio of 109.38% as compared with 109.89%. On the United Kingdom account basis the underwriting loss was £63.4m [1989 £70.2m loss]. In the third quarter Commercial lines performed better than in the second quarter while Personal lines reported a deterioration. Both performed better than in the equivalent period last year which was adversely affected by losses arising from Hurricane 'Hugo'.

Canada continued to produce a good result and reported an underwriting profit of £0.2m [1989 £1.5m loss] in the third quarter and a deficit at the nine months of £0.7m [1989 £6.3m loss].

Elsewhere there were aggregate underwriting losses of £117.0m [1989 £74.9m loss] with most territories reporting increased losses. Results in Europe and Pacific continued to reflect the impact of bad weather, most noticeably in Australia where storm losses persisted into the third quarter. Experience in the London Market gives some cause for concern.

New annual premiums for life business in the United Kingdom for the first nine months of 1990 were £38.6m [1989 £38.4m] and single premiums £36.9m [1989 £26.3m].

General Accident plc

World Headquarters: Pitheavlis, Perth, Scotland PH2 0NH.

EC aims to remove barriers in satellite competition

FROM PETER GUILFORD IN BRUSSELS

THE European Commission has announced an initiative to open up the European market for satellite communications.

Filippo Maria Pandolfi, the science commissioner, yesterday disclosed plans in his green paper to abolish all exclusive rights which currently stifle cross-border competition in satellite television.

In future, it should be possible to obtain and use satellite dishes for direct reception, notably of television, without any restrictions.

The move could clear the way for Britain's satellite broadcasting industry, the biggest in Europe, to expand more smoothly overseas, but it could also encourage foreign competitors to challenge their British rivals more vigorously in Britain.

Signor Pandolfi admits one

aim is to boost the sale of satellite dishes, which he says are transforming traditional methods of television transmission. They provide satellite operators with 46 per cent of their Community revenue, according to EC estimates.

The green paper will also open up access to the use of satellites themselves. Some national safeguards will still be tolerated to avoid harmful interference and guarantee the protection of sensitive data and personal privacy.

Companies selling satellite services will be guaranteed access to transmission capacity through contracts with satellite controllers. They will not be stopped from sending signals directly themselves via satellites.

Businesses and consumers

will benefit from better services and lower prices, Signor Pandolfi said. "In particular, it will help the burgeoning market in very small aperture terminals to flourish. Companies use VSATs to send and receive information on their premises."

Car distribution networks, for example, will enjoy faster communication between each other. Companies will be put in closer contact with their subsidiaries, too, when restrictive national laws and practices disappear.

He claimed, however, that the EC's segmented and chaotically regulated market in satellite communications is lagging up to 30 years behind Europe's grip on the technology itself.

European satellites and equipment can be up to 33 per

cent more expensive than their American rivals. European makers have "practically no impact on the growing world market", in spite of their technological lead. Europe holds 20 per cent of the \$6 billion global market in "second generation" satellite systems, but the commission hopes to see this double for the latest generation.

In step with plans to create a level playing field for greater competition on the European market, Brussels will ensure that all 12 countries can accept each other's licensing and type-approval procedures. When the green paper emerges for broader discussion, governments and industry will be asked to define one set of Community standards to ensure compatibility of equipment and techniques.

Bad debts squeeze electronic company

By OUR CITY STAFF

BRITAIN'S largest electronic components distributor, Electrocomponents, said that the weaker economic climate "inevitably led to increased bad debts" and that interim results suffered by £500,000 because of higher bad debt write-offs.

Group interim results at £24.7 million pre-tax to end-September compared with £23.9 million previously also reflected significant, but not disclosed, losses within its lighting division. The size of the losses should be evident when full year accounts are published.

Turnover was £194.5 million (£190.7 million). Because of the group's strong operating cash flow, the interim dividend is being raised from 1.7p to 1.8p a share.

Sir Keith Bright, chairman, says market conditions continue to be depressed - more in Britain than elsewhere - and while the core business continues to make progress, overall results will be affected by demand level in the British retail market.

Electrocomponents has put certain American assets on sale.

The group's legal action against STC alleging infringement of copyright "continues to wind its way through the courts". The group spent £42 million on acquisitions and capital expenditure during the half year. Gearing at September 30 was 25 per cent.

The shares traded 13p lower on results at 180p.

Jessups profits fall to £1.38m

PRE-TAX profits at Jessups, the Essex motor dealer, fell to £1.38 million (£2.8 million) in the year to end-August on turnover ahead at £100.8 million (£97.7 million). Operating profits slipped to £49.9 million (£53.7 million) but interest payments rose to £3.55 million (£2.56 million).

Earnings per share plunged from 18.7p to 6.93p, with fully diluted earnings down from 17.63p to 8.41p. The final dividend is kept at 4.75p, making an unchanged total of 7p. The shares lost 5p to 54p.

Regalian project attracts interest

By MARTIN WALLER

REGALIAN Properties, the commercial and residential developer, is believed to have received potential offers of more than £100 million for its Kensington Palace Gardens luxury flats project, probably the most prestigious residential scheme in the country.

David Goldstone, the chairman, said four approaches from overseas buyers had been received for the development, which is opposite Kensington Palace, home of the Prince and Princess of Wales, and two sets of negotiations had reached an advanced stage before they broke down.

Regalian was announcing pre-tax profits little changed at £5.23 million (£5.51 million) for the six months to end-September and an interim dividend maintained at 1.5p. Most of the earnings came from interest from the group's cash balances. Gross profit of £2.04 million went on administrative expenses of £2.41 million, while net interest receivable totalled £5.60 million. The group capitalised £6 million of interest payments.

Since 1987, the group has focused almost entirely on commercial property. The 0.64-acre Kensington Palace site was bought for £22 million that year, with the intention of building 20 luxury flats.

Mr Goldstone would give no further details of the approaches or how much the potential buyers were prepared to pay. But given the flats have a combined retail price of about £120 million once completed, it is thought unlikely that Regalian would have considered offers for much less than that.

One approach is believed to have come from Middle Eastern interests looking for a base in London. Another is thought to have originated in Japan. This was the most recent approach, with talks breaking down four weeks ago.

"In my view it is a trophy building, and it would justify a substantial sum of money," Mr Goldstone said.

Regalian hopes shortly to obtain planning permission for its Bishopsgate project next to Paddington station in London.



'Trophy building': David Goldstone, the chairman

Creditors call for liquidation of Eastern

New York

THE unsecured creditors of Eastern Air Lines are urging the judge handling the carrier's bankruptcy case to begin "a prompt and orderly liquidation" of the airline.

The creditors' committee said Eastern's losses had far exceeded projections by Martin Shugrue, the airline's court-appointed trustee.

The creditors include banks, Eastern's unions and the manufacturers of aircraft and engines such as Airbus Industrie, in which British Aerospace has a stake. They have urged Burton Lifland, the New York bankruptcy judge, not to allow Mr Shugrue to withdraw any more money from Eastern's escrow fund to keep the airline operating. The fund has \$257 million left.

The creditors urged a liquidation even though they had been warned by Mr Shugrue that they could end up with none of what they are owed. A liquidation of Eastern could cost \$500 million to \$600 million.

The creditors said Mr Shugrue had forecast in June that losses to end-October would total \$197.1 million, when they have, in fact, totalled \$370.8 million.

Mr Shugrue had estimated that \$200 million would be needed from the fund to help keep the airline operating until the end of December. Including the latest request, he has sought \$300 million.

Mr Shugrue said Eastern was winning back business travellers and that it should be able to tap its reserve for \$30 million this month and \$40 million next to keep operating. He predicted the airline would break even by March.

Trans World Airlines reported a net loss of \$14.7 million for the third quarter, compared with a \$29.9 million loss last time. TWA's revenues were \$1.34 billion, up from \$1.27 billion. TWA reported a \$58.8 million operating profit, compared with \$60.7 million in 1989.

(New York Times)

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NINE
MONTHS'
REVIEW

Pre-tax profit £27.2m

★ Life profits increase 13% to £74.5m with strong new life premium growth of 31%.

★ Operating profit before taxation £27.2m (1989 £110.3m).

★ Results affected by first quarter storms costing £55m and property subsidence claims of £23m.

★ Total premium growth 11% but non-life insurance markets remain competitive.

★ United States improves to a profit of £7.6m (1989 loss £30.2m).

HIGHLIGHTS

	9 months 1990 Unaudited	9 months 1989 Unaudited
Total premium income	£2,699.9m	£2,546.3m
Operating profit before taxation	£27.2m	£110.3m
Operating profit after taxation	£16.5m	£60.7m
Earnings per share	3.9p	14.4p
Shareholders' funds	£1,221m	£1,609m



Commercial Union plc

no fresh developments on which it could comment. and the interim dividend is 3.95p (3.35p).

هكذا امر الأمل

Canot

British Airways hits turbulence

COMMENT

Many of the world's commercial airlines are likely to go bust in the next couple of years unless the Gulf impasse is resolved. The industry is moving into a slump induced by the slowdown in world economic growth, affecting business and leisure travel, so the rise in oil prices cannot be recovered. Prices can be raised, but the benefit is lost in discounting and customers find the seats are not so bad in economy class.

British Airways is doing much better than most of its competitors. The generally successful United, which was also ahead of the bunch, managed only a 5 per cent rise in group profits for the six months to end September compared with BA's 24 per cent. Even for BA, however, business will be dire in the winter season. If BA's prediction that it will break even in the second half is borne out—which depends almost entirely on what happens to the oil price—that could cloak a £160 million downturn in trading, rather more than the rise in the fuel bill. Last year, BA made £86 million in the off

season, including £25 million from aircraft sales. Aircraft sales were expected to yield £60 million this time, implying a swinging operating loss if that is still the case.

This is no time for investors in BA to panic, however. The shares fell back to within pennies of the 125p launch price yesterday mainly because of City disappointment that the relatively insignificant interim dividend was not raised.

Lord King, the chairman, is one of the old school who treats the dividend as a signal, rather than believing shareholders' income in a volatile business should rise through thick and thin. The company is about to go into negotiations with staff and ask them to take some of the pain through minimal wage increases.

If BA does break even in the second half, its shares at 131p would sell at about 5 times diluted 1990-91 earnings. On an unchanged dividend, they would

yield 9 per cent. BA's finances are complex but still about the soundest in the industry. Last year's convertible bond issue was not needed for its original purpose of financing BA's share of the aborted UAL buyout, but it has come in handy.

After the cost-cutting exercise, Ian Wild of BZW reckons BA could make about £250 million pre-tax next year, which should not threaten the dividend. But that depends on the conventional assumption of an average oil price of \$25 per barrel, compared with nearly \$34 today. There will be intense pressure if war leads to another price spike but sustained high oil prices would be worse.

The saving grace for BA is that competitors such as Pan American and TWA are much weaker. Big bankruptcies or cuts in services would lead to a fall in

capacity and higher market share for BA, though the aircraft market could go into a tailspin.

The trickiest decisions for Lord King and Sir Colin may be to resist some of the opportunities the industry slump will bring for acquisitions and expansion on top of existing ambitions. Sound finances can easily disappear if BA is too keen to pick up the pieces.

Power points

During a fallow fortnight for electricity analysts before impact day for the 12 regional distributors next Wednesday, Nigel Hawkins at Hoare Govett has come up with a brave but intriguing study of the relative availability of the shares around the country. Mr Hawkins,

one of the few independent stockbrokers, assumes, by analogy with the water float a year ago, that about half the shares will go to the retail public. He is looking for yields to average 8.5 per cent and range from 8.1 per cent for the most attractive distributors to up to 9.2 per cent at the other end.

Research into earlier privatisations showed that take-up varies enormously from area to area. At the top of the range, 18 out of every 100 households in London and the South East go for privatisation issues. That figure drops to 7 per cent participation in Yorkshire and Humberside.

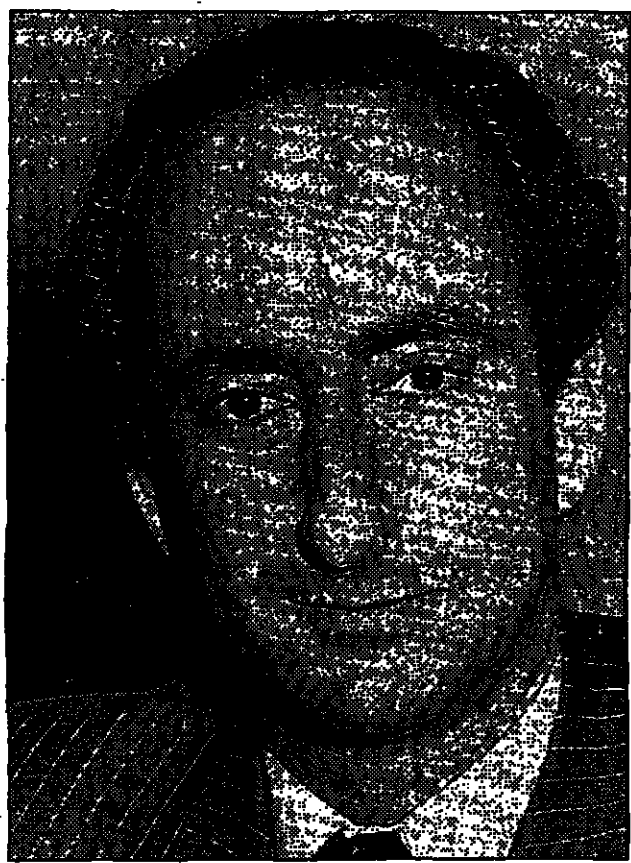
Factoring in this participation rate would produce a wide variation in likely local demand for the 12 distributors compared with their size. If the popularity of privatisation issues varies widely across the country, so does the relative size of the distributors, and the two do not match. In Seaboard's area,

covering the prosperous south coast, just £409 would have to come from each participating household to absorb all the company's shares. That figure rises to a surprising £1,754 in Yorkshire. Second highest is Northern, with Midlands Electricity not far behind.

The government must take into account the different levels of likely retail demand in each region, based on past experience, when it sets the yield for each company. Yorkshire, therefore, can expect to see itself moved up the range of yields purely for this reason giving investors a better deal.

The implication is clear. Those investors wanting to fish further afield than their own regional electricity company should take a view on the success of the power float as late as possible. If it looks like going swimmingly, Yorkshire, Northern and Midlands are where the spare stock should be, while there is little point competing with the burghers of the south coast towns for their slice. If it all looks like coming to grief, avoid Yorkshire like the plague.

Institutional hawks show their talons in boardroom



Under pressure: Sir Ralph Halpern, of Burton Group

THOUGH stranger things have happened, it is inconceivable that Sir Ralph Halpern will not relinquish his executive role at Burton Group when the fashion retailer announces its financial results today, finally bowing to institutional pressure that was first brought to bear almost a year ago.

Sir Ralph has fiercely resisted attempts to oblige him to split the roles of chairman and chief executive, but ultimately all that remained to be negotiated were the terms of his settlement.

Pension funds, insurance companies and other financial institutions, anxious to protect the value of their investment in a volatile stock market, have become increasingly militant and were not to be denied.

Several leading executives have felt the sharp edge of this new-found militancy in recent weeks. Roger Kingston, resigned as chief executive of Davy Corporation, Britain's largest independent engineering contractor, yesterday to be replaced by Patrick McFie, his deputy.

Institutional discontent with the company, whose shares have collapsed from 262p earlier this year to 60p yesterday, is believed to have played a key role in persuading Sir Alistair Frame, chairman since January, to implement major changes in the boardroom. With a market capitalisation of less than £83 million, Davy finds itself in dispute with two clients over contracts worth more than £100 million and running into difficulties with cost overruns in another two projects. With one of Britain's leading engineering companies effectively on the auction block at a knockdown price, institutions argued that responsibility for recurring problems should be borne at the highest level.

Bunzl and Cookson Group are two other industrial groups who have been put under the institutional cosh. Bunzl's James White refused to agree to split the roles of chairman and chief executive and was left with no option but to resign after leading shareholders insisted that too

much corporate power was held in one pair of hands. Cookson insisted that institutions played no direct role in the resignation of Michael Henderson as chairman and chief executive, but the company was friendlier in the City after its shares dived from 378p to 80p in little more than a year and the pressure for change became intense. Executives who have been

brought to book by institutions claim with some justification that institutions were quite happy to take a back-seat role as long as the financial picture was bright. At the first hint of trouble, it is claimed, institutions react by seeking major changes which do not always have a positive impact on companies.

But in many cases, institutions have been remarkably

tolerant and been prodded on numerous occasions before showing signs of life. In the notable case of Burton, Sir Ralph first incurred their wrath over a remuneration package which looked over-generous when trading conditions were evidently turning against his company. Protests forced some compromise from the Burton board but Sir Ralph continued to hold formidable authority within the company.

Cookson's difficulties can be traced back over at least 18 months yet institutions were apparently happy to sanction the appointment of Mr Henderson, then just chief executive, as chairman upon the retirement of Ian Butler.

Institutions may appear to have turned hawkish in recent weeks, but two clear signs that they were ready to play a more active role in executive decisions emerged in mid-1989 and were swiftly ignored by board members who had, perhaps, underestimated the depth of the current recession and how it would focus shareholders' minds on the value of their investments.

In the first instance, Sun Life led City institutions in a successful attempt to secure better terms from Magnet, the kitchen furniture and do-it-yourself group, for holders of convertible preference shares during the £629 million buy-out. Sun Life, which held 10.4 per cent of the convertibles, sought, and achieved, a larger cash element to supplement replacement preference shares of doubtful value. Sun Alliance also flexed its muscle in an effort to block the buyout altogether, but failed.

Last December, John Ritblat was forced to short plans to restructure British Land, the property group, after institutions led by Legal and General objected to terms which would have netted him, his family and senior managers up to £56 million.

As corporate health deteriorates further, it seems certain that pension funds and insurers will seek, and obtain, greater influence in the boardrooms of UK plc.

MARTIN BARROW

Light relief at Thorn

TEMPUS

ON THE basis that any deal over Thorn EMI's lighting division was looked at none, news that terms had been agreed with General Electric was well received by the market, although the strength in the share price owed something to a dividend increase that had not been universally expected.

Only time will tell whether a £69 million return on the loss-making lamp manufacturing third of the operation is preferable to receiving £300 million for the entire lighting division, but there is a nagging suspicion that the Americans have the better of the deal.

What seems certain is that the deal will have no material impact on this year's profits or balance sheet. The initial payment of £28.5 million will scarcely dent the £450 million debt pile.

Light sourcing losses dragged the division £1.2 million into the red in the first six months, against profits of £10.2 million, and it will be surprising if any of the lost ground can be reclaimed in the second half.

Elsewhere, tight household budgets have dimmed the rental and retail side, and profits are down from £62.6 million to £52.4 million, while technology just failed to match last year's £21.5 million.

As management wrestles with restructuring problems in these areas it will take heart from the success of the music division. Though not immune from recession, the heavy spend on improving the balance of the group's portfolio of artists, has struck paydirt, in

the shape of a 50 per cent surge in profits to £49.6 million.

Without sweeter sounds from the economy in general Thorn will fall well short of last year's profit, and will do well to top £300 million, for earnings of 62p, little more than a tenth of the 608p share price. Little to go for in the short term.

Boots

THE City resisted the urge to say "if only" to Boots yesterday, but there was no getting away from it. If only Boots had wanted to buy Ward White, if only it had paid less for the Halfords, Payless and AG Stanley group, its image in the City would be stronger.

The Ward White figures in Boots' interim results do not make happy reading but the City was prepared to forgive Sir James Blyth, chief executive, because of the stunning performance from Boots the Chemist where profits rose by 40.2 per cent to £38.2 million.

Boots' overall pre-tax profit for the six months to end-September was £162 million, up 1.1 per cent, and ahead of many City forecasts. Sales rose 21.7 per cent to £1.73 billion and trading profits rose 26.3 per cent to £188 million. Earnings per share fell 4.3 per cent to 11.2p and the interim dividend rose 6.5 per cent to 4.1p.

Halfords was the biggest disappointment with profits in the first half of £2.6 million on sales of £140 million. Payless, now merged with Do it All, made profits of £5.8



Boots polish: Sir James

million on sales of £88.1 million. AG Stanley, the home decorating chain, performed well with profits of £5.9 million on sales of £58.9 million.

The pharmaceutical division increased profits by 13 per cent to £61 million and Boots Opticians doubled profits to £2 million. The loss at Children's World has fallen from £4.1 million to £2.9 million.

Gearing is only 22 per cent and the group is expected to make around £370 million for the full year, putting the shares, up 3p at 316p, on a p/e ratio of 13. They are worth holding for the longer term.

Land Securities

LAND Securities may be the bellwether stock of the property sector, but that has not stopped it outperforming both that sector and the market as a whole over the past few months.

In May the company announced a rise in asset values despite the slump in the market. Yesterday it apparently defied gravity again with a 27 per cent increase in pre-tax profits to £102.7 million for the six months to end-September and a 16 per cent rise in the interim dividend.

But there are clear indications that the run may be coming to an end. Even the most optimistic of the company's City followers expect a fall in NAV at the year end, while some of the bears say the slump could be as much as 15 per cent.

Land Securities itself concedes that asset values have already fallen this year, while telling the market not to expect a corresponding profits increase in the second half. The first half jump was largely due to a £30 million-plus increase in rental income coming out of a series of timely rent reviews.

More seriously, the company suggests that the problems in the property industry have affected some of the growth in future reversionary income. Much of the rise in the share price this summer has been because of the perception of Land Securities as a safe stock in difficult times. The company's cautious line on borrowings and refusal to capitalise interest payments have helped it avoid the difficulties of some of the former sector high-fliers.

Pre-tax profits for the current year will be about £205 million, but the NAV could drop as far as 740p, if the bears are right. At 521p, the upside for the shares looks limited.

THE TIMES CITY DIARY

Oil analysts in demand

ONLY a month after poaching two of the City's top oil analysts from Hoare Govett, Société Générale Strauss Turbull is scouting for talent. For Mark Roberts, global oil analyst at the firm since April 1989, has decided to try his hand at public relations. Roberts resigned on Tuesday, just days after John Toalster and Irene Himona joined from Hoare Govett, but he insists the move has been planned for some time. "I like the idea of representing clients and easing their way into the City," says Roberts, who joins College Hill Associates, the investor relations company, early next month. "My clients will include Clyde Petroleum and Ranger, and I will also be covering natural resources." This is the fourth career change in ten years for Roberts, who was a geophysicist in Saudi Arabia before joining County NatWest as a market-maker in 1986. With Hoare Govett and SGST both seeking replacements, the shrinking band of oil analysts are well placed to name their price.

Camera-shy

SIR James Blyth, the chief executive of Boots, has a reputation as a snappy dresser. But these days he seems to have become camera-shy. Photographers who arrived at The Brewery in Chiswell Street for the group's results yesterday morning were told

that their services were not required. The company, it appears, had decided to photograph Blyth with Sir Christopher Benson, the new chairman, outside a Boots store in Nottingham, to have something to be distributed on the day. But in the finest traditions of Fleet Street, at least two snappers decided to try their luck. "We had to turn them away," says a public relations adviser, who adds that the meeting proceeded smoothly enough. Blyth, who earned £383,000 last year, turned down a photocall before the meeting, and refused to let photographers inside. Analysts present seemed more interested in the ranks of policemen who gathered outside the venue—not, it seems, to keep out the press, but because Chris Patten, Secretary of State for the Environment, was due in the area.

SVAM to close

Scrimgeour Vickers Asset Management, the private co-



STICKER on the bumper of a worn-out mini, seen near the Bank of England: "Don't laugh - your daughter might be in here."

Test for Samuels

ANGUS Samuels, the former chief executive of the Stock Group, and architect of the break-up that followed the collapse of British & Commonwealth, its parent, is back in the market. In a new test of his management skills, he has joined Credit Suisse Buckmaster & Moore to head the private client and fund management divisions. "Like

anyone in the City, we are keen on recruiting good people," says Samuels, who worked for Fergusson Bros, Hall, Stewart & Co, the Johannesburg stockbroker, before joining Hoare Govett in 1986, and now hopes to expand the CS&BM operation. "The M&S affair left us with no option but to break up the group, and we split the business between James Capel and Flemings." After a brief handover period with Capel, he began talking to Credit Suisse, and now reports to Harry France, the group's chairman. The group has also hired Roger Brookhouse, former managing director of Lloyds Investment Management International, to run its new international fund management division.

M&S to rescue

HELP is on hand for those who work in the City but whose culinary skills do not quite match their ambitions. Stockbrokers keen to impress at dinner parties but who lack the time or ability to do the job themselves will be able to cheat when Marks and Spencer's 16,000 sq ft food hall opens at the Finsbury Circus end of Moorgate next March. M&S has already had some success with its men-only clothing store in the City, tempting fund managers away from the shops they usually use, but the new store will be its first food outlet within the Square Mile.

JON ASEWORTH

LAND SECURITIES

INTERIM RESULTS TO 30 SEPTEMBER 1990

Sound progress in a difficult market

Rental income increased by £31.4 million to £162.3 million

Pre-tax profit up 27.1% to £102.7 million

Interim dividend increased by 15.8% to 5.5p

Pre-tax profit for the half year to 31 March 1991 is not expected to differ materially from this half year

Extracts from the Review of the Group's Activities:

All completed office developments are now fully let with the exception of 68,000 sq. ft. in one City building. Good progress has also been made in pre-letting new developments currently under construction.

The present problems of the property industry generally have resulted in weakening investment yields and reduced rental expectations which have affected capital values and some of the growth in future reversionary income.

Despite this, the Company will benefit from the considerable additional income which has still to flow from reviews and renewals in the next year or two. In addition, substantial further income will flow from developments which have been let but are not yet income producing.

The developments under construction, including those which we have started recently, are all situated in proven locations and are being built to our high standards. With these qualities the buildings should let readily and generate further income in due course.

The Company concentrates on long term fundamental principles to maximise the income from the portfolio; it is from increased income that potential for growth in dividends and capital values will be derived.

A leaflet setting out the Interim Results and the Review is being despatched to the Shareholders. A copy may be obtained from the Secretary.

LAND SECURITIES PLC

Landsec House, 21 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4PY

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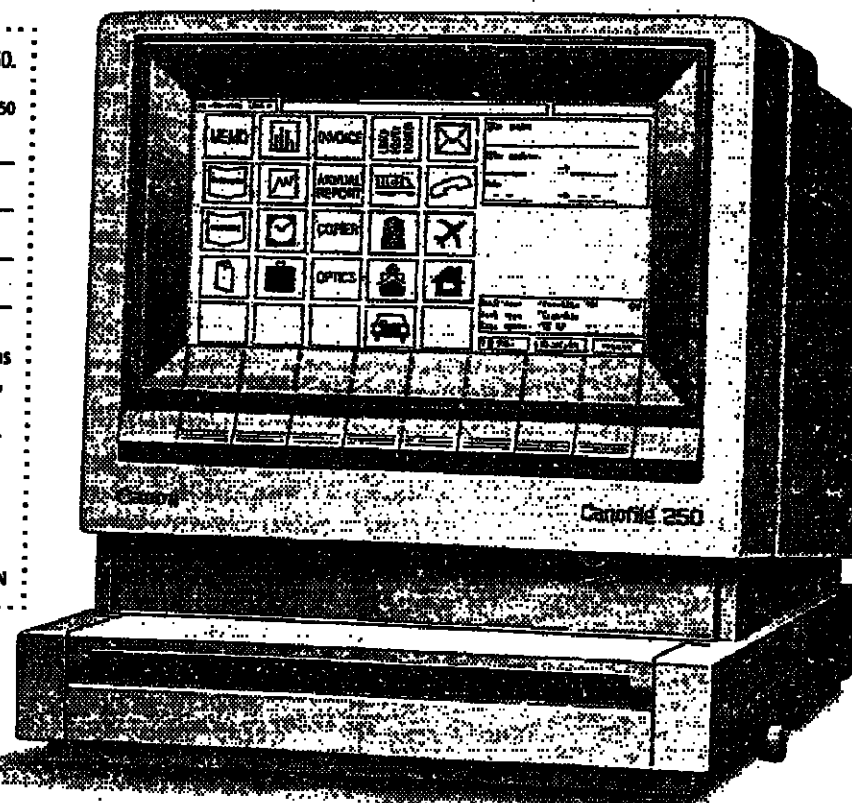
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No.	Company	Group	Cash at 10p
1	Lon Sec Bk	Bank/Discount	100
2	New West (ns)	Bank/Discount	100
3	Charles Nicolls	Property	100
4	Colson	Industrial A-D	100
5	Sovereign	Oil/Gas	100
6	Haden MacLellan	Industrial E-K	100
7	Chenierfield	Property	100
8	CALA	Building/Roads	100
9	Mowlem	Property	100
10	Cowies	Property	100
11	Bilton (P)	Property	100
12	More Overfall	Property/Adv	100
13	Land Sec (ns)	Property	100
14	THORN EMI (ns)	Electronics	100
15	B&I Op	Industrial A-D	100
16	Allied Irish	Bank/Discount	100
17	Alloy	Building/Roads	100
18	Indecon	Industrial E-K	100
19	CHI Ind	Industrial A-D	100
20	Essex Cem	Property	100
21	Stanley	Building/Roads	100
22	Shag Furnishers	Industrial E-K	100
23	Boots (ns)	Industrial A-D	100
24	Copson PLC	Building/Roads	100
25	Speybank	Property	100
26	Low & Bonar	Industrial E-K	100
27	AB Food (ns)	Food	100
28	Thills Op	Industrial E-K	100
29	Manx Docks	Transport	100
30	ADT (ns)	Industrial A-D	100
31	McLennan	Industrial E-K	100
32	BPA Ind (ns)	Building/Roads	100
33	Black (Peter)	Industrial A-D	100
34	Or Portland	Property	100
35	Meyer Int	Building/Roads	100
36	Walker, Greenbank	Industrial E-K	100
37	Peterson (ns)	Newspapers/Pub	100
38	Wheatfinch	Newspapers/Pub	100
39	Clifford Foods 'A'	Food	100
40	Taylor Woodrow (ns)	Building/Roads	100
41	Highland Dist	Breweries	100
42	Industrial Group	Property	100
43	Robinson T (ns)	Transport	100
44	© Times Newspapers Ltd	Daily Total	

Please take into account any minus signs

Weekly Dividend						
Please make a note of your daily total for the weekly dividend of £12,000 in Sunday's newspaper.						
MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT	SUN

The winner of the £2,000 Portfolio Platinum prize yesterday was Mr Peter Rainer, of Stamford, Lincs.

BRITISH FUNDS		
High	Low	Mid

SHORTS (Under Five Years)		
High	Low	Mid

FIVE TO FIFTEEN YEARS		
High	Low	Mid

OVER FIFTEEN YEARS		
High	Low	Mid

UNDATED		
High	Low	Mid

INDEX-LINKED		
High	Low	Mid

BANKS, DISCOUNT, HP		
High	Low	Mid

STOCK EXCHANGE PRICES

Shares weaker

ACCOUNT DAYS: Dealings began November 5. Dealings end tomorrow. £Contango day November 19. Settlement day November 26. £Forward bargains are permitted on two previous business days.

Prices recorded are at market close. Changes are calculated on the previous day's close, but adjustments are made when a stock is ex-dividend. Where one price is quoted, it is a middle price. Changes, yields and price/earnings ratios are based on middle prices. (ns) denotes Alpha Stocks. (VOLUMES: PAGE 34).

High	Low	Company	High	Low	Company	High	Low	Company	High	Low	Company
100	99	Lon Sec Bk	100	99	New West (ns)	100	99	Charles Nicolls	100	99	Colson
100	99	Sovereign	100	99	Haden MacLellan	100	99	Chenierfield	100	99	CALA
100	99	Mowlem	100	99	Cowies	100	99	Bilton (P)	100	99	More Overfall
100	99	Land Sec (ns)	100	99	THORN EMI (ns)	100	99	B&I Op	100	99	Allied Irish
100	99	Alloy	100	99	Indecon	100	99	CHI Ind	100	99	Essex Cem
100	99	Stanley	100	99	Shag Furnishers	100	99	Boots (ns)	100	99	Copson PLC
100	99	Speybank	100	99	Low & Bonar	100	99	AB Food (ns)	100	99	Thills Op
100	99	Manx Docks	100	99	ADT (ns)	100	99	McLennan	100	99	BPA Ind (ns)
100	99	Black (Peter)	100	99	Or Portland	100	99	Meyer Int	100	99	Walker, Greenbank
100	99	Peterson (ns)	100	99	Wheatfinch	100	99	Clifford Foods 'A'	100	99	Taylor Woodrow (ns)
100	99	Highland Dist	100	99	Industrial Group	100	99	Robinson T (ns)	100	99	

BREWERIES											
100	99	Lon Sec Bk	100	99	New West (ns)	100	99	Charles Nicolls	100	99	Colson
100	99	Sovereign	100	99	Haden MacLellan	100	99	Chenierfield	100	99	CALA
100	99	Mowlem	100	99	Cowies	100	99	Bilton (P)	100	99	More Overfall
100	99	Land Sec (ns)	100	99	THORN EMI (ns)	100	99	B&I Op	100	99	Allied Irish
100	99	Alloy	100	99	Indecon	100	99	CHI Ind	100	99	Essex Cem
100	99	Stanley	100	99	Shag Furnishers	100	99	Boots (ns)	100	99	Copson PLC
100	99	Speybank	100	99	Low & Bonar	100	99	AB Food (ns)	100	99	Thills Op
100	99	Manx Docks	100	99	ADT (ns)	100	99	McLennan	100	99	BPA Ind (ns)
100	99	Black (Peter)	100	99	Or Portland	100	99	Meyer Int	100	99	Walker, Greenbank
100	99	Peterson (ns)	100	99	Wheatfinch	100	99	Clifford Foods 'A'	100	99	Taylor Woodrow (ns)
100	99	Highland Dist	100	99	Industrial Group	100	99	Robinson T (ns)	100	99	

BUILDING, ROADS											
100	99	Lon Sec Bk	100	99	New West (ns)	100	99	Charles Nicolls	100	99	Colson
100	99	Sovereign	100	99	Haden MacLellan	100	99	Chenierfield	100	99	CALA
100	99	Mowlem	100	99	Cowies	100	99	Bilton (P)	100	99	More Overfall
100	99	Land Sec (ns)	100	99	THORN EMI (ns)	100	99	B&I Op	100	99	Allied Irish
100	99	Alloy	100	99	Indecon	100	99	CHI Ind	100	99	Essex Cem
100	99	Stanley	100	99	Shag Furnishers	100	99	Boots (ns)	100	99	Copson PLC
100	99	Speybank	100	99	Low & Bonar	100	99	AB Food (ns)	100	99	Thills Op
100	99	Manx Docks	100	99	ADT (ns)	100	99	McLennan	100	99	BPA Ind (ns)
100	99	Black (Peter)	100	99	Or Portland	100	99	Meyer Int	100	99	Walker, Greenbank
100	99	Peterson (ns)	100	99	Wheatfinch	100	99	Clifford Foods 'A'	100	99	Taylor Woodrow (ns)
100	99	Highland Dist	100	99	Industrial Group	100	99	Robinson T (ns)	100	99	

FINANCE, LAND											
100	99	Lon Sec Bk	100	99	New West (ns)	100	99	Charles Nicolls	100	99	Colson
100	99	Sovereign	100	99	Haden MacLellan	100	99	Chenierfield	100	99	CALA
100	99	Mowlem	100	99	Cowies	100	99	Bilton (P)	100	99	More Overfall
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100	99	Stanley	100	99	Shag Furnishers	100	99	Boots (ns)	100	99	Copson PLC
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FINANCIAL TRUSTS											
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100	99	Highland Dist	100	99	Industrial Group	100	99	Robinson T (ns)	100	99	

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FINANCE, LAND											
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SPORTS LETTERS

Curbing anti-social actions

From the Reverend Charles Whitfield
Sir, Whilst not in any way condoning the fighting between the Arsenal and Manchester United players I feel that the real culprits have not been brought to book.

The problem is that the players look to the referees for protection. If the referee does not give the players this protection then they take things into their own hands. Hence the fighting.

Week after week we see the incompetence of referees both in not protecting the players from foul play and in giving different interpretations of the laws, so that for the same offence a player can either be sent off or booked or have no punishment.

It is up to the football authorities to see that the referees do their job properly. If they do not do their job, they should be removed.

Yours sincerely,
CHARLES WHITFIELD,
Strawberry Cottage,
23 Chapel Meadow,
Buckland Monachorum,
Velverton, Devon.

Better Italian job

From Miss Gizele Rahman

Sir, In Milan recently I was astonished to see trainers leading up their horses in the paddock while the lads looked on. By the end of the day most of these eminently respectable men had got their hands and feet dirty and were pretty tired. This sort of ad hoc strike action by the lads has apparently been hindering Italian racing over the last month.

In England the job of lad is done more for the love of horses than for the money; in Italy it is a well paid profession, embraced by a strong national union which won't take any nonsense. As the contract stands between the trainers, owners and the union, a lad earns around £750 net per month for exercising and looking after two horses and for working two weekends. On top of that he earns £5-£6 per day for each extra horse he does. In July and at Christmas he receives his "thirteenth" and "fourteenth" month's pay on top of his normal salary. He is entitled to 22 days' holiday a year.

When he leaves his employer he receives liquidation money which adds up to another month's wages for every year he has worked there. He is comprehensively insured, which means he receives full pay until he fully recovers from any injury sustained during work. The maximum payable for total disablement is £50,000. The pension scheme is worth up to £800 per month.

The old guard

From Mr Derek Severs

Sir, Mark Daniel (Sports Letters, November 8) queries whether there is any physically active sport apart from rugby five which can match an age span of 51 years between international players.

Bowls used to be considered an old man's activity but the whole climate of the game has changed with the influx of a large number of younger players, bringing with them a highly competitive attitude.

In the Gloucestershire Bowling Association we take special pride in the fact that this summer our triple won the national championship. The players involved were 20-year-old Andy Wills at lead, 79-year-

old Jack Drummond Henderson at two and Terry Allcock (35) as skip. They represent the Cheltenham club and are an outstanding example of the friendship and compatibility that exists in the game of bowls. Also it will not escape Mr Daniel's notice that their time span is 59 years.

Next season, as English champions, they will compete in the British Isles championship, a truly international event.

Yours faithfully,
DEREK SEVER,
Senior Vice-president,
Gloucestershire Bowling Association,
Holly Cottage,
Kilcot Lane,
Hillesley,
Wotton Under Edge,
Gloucestershire.

Yours faithfully,
GILL E. RAHMAN,
Home Farm,
Benhall,
Saxmundham,
Suffolk.

RFU must not ignore camera

From Dr J. B. Evans

Sir, The RFU statement on the Probyn affair (report, November 10) is a weak and muddled one. The expressed "concern about the wrong conclusions being drawn from televised pictures" is an attempt to cover up for refereeing mistakes and for their embarrassment.

Every winter weekend afternoon we see forward passes being missed and we accept this as inevitable. However, we should not refuse to accept proven evidence of foul play. Méndez first punched Probyn in the testicles (why can't the word be used?) and then grabbed the Probyn manager's arm. Méndez in an attempt to gain release - and who wouldn't?

The statement does not refer to stamping because stamping is seldom acceptable, but it certainly was in these circumstances. I have not drawn the wrong conclusions from the television pictures. The first one is the surprising evidence that an 18-year-old was strong enough to prop against Probyn and the second was that Méndez should, by his tender age, have already decided that he should take the opportunity to punch and grab whatever is on offer. No Queensberry rules for him.

The RFU is embarrassed by the bad publicity given to the game by this incident at its headquarters in an international. It is not Probyn's attempted escape that is embarrassing, but the assault that made escape necessary.

Yours faithfully,
J. B. EVANS,
Orchard Hill,
Cross Oak Road,
Berkhamsted,
Hertfordshire.

From Judge Nicholas Brandt
Sir, I, together with many others, am delighted that after most careful consideration, the RFU panel has totally exonerated Jeffrey Probyn.

And I, however, alone in wondering what "provocation" has to do with the Méndez/Ackford incident?

Whatever interpretation the members of the panel, which dealt with Méndez, may have put upon the Probyn/Méndez affair, the attack by Méndez on the wholly innocent Ackford was clearly separated from it both in space and time, not to mention victim.

Perhaps I am being legalistic or perhaps the Méndez panel should explain.

An advocate who tried to mitigate for his client's assault on Boggins on the basis of "provocation" from Saucings would get short shrift from the likes of...

Your obedient servant,
NICHOLAS BRANDT,
25 Southway,
Colchester,
Essex.

Wrongly focused

From Mr Edward Young

Sir, Before the five nations' rugby championship gets under way, and in preparation for the World Cup, it would be helpful to viewers if those responsible for television presentation would tighten up on their increasingly slack production habits.

Last Saturday's test between Scotland and Argentina demonstrated a worsening of these habits.

The biggest sin is the boring visual cliché of the camera being automatically focused on the head and shoulders of the last payer who has done/not done something notable, while action is going on elsewhere or something off camera needs to be explained. This cliché is inevitable after a penalty kick at goal.

If the kick misses there is always the possibility of the ball being run out of defence in an adventurous attack. Several times on Saturday this could have happened as Argentina bravely tried to save the game, but Gavin Hastings' head and shoulders took priority.

We even saw the beginnings of a quick throw-in from touch by Argentina before the camera automatically switched to the Scottish kicker, then hastily switched back to the live action just as the commentator was clearing his throat.

What made the presentation particularly inept was the visual cliché was held and maintained for embarrassing lengths of time, longer than I can remember.

Marginally less boring, but equally irritating, is the habit of replays being shown while live action is taking place. Do we need replays of kicks at goal when the drop-out or kick-off has taken place? There are

breaks in the game when replays can be shown without the viewer missing anything of interest. Live action, every time, must take precedence over replays.

Yours faithfully,
EDWARD YOUNG,
Stile Park,
Willowgreen Road,
Stornoway,
Isle of Lewis.

From Mr C. A. M. Forsyth
Sir, I write to complain about the camera coverage at last Saturday's rugby league international between Great Britain and Australia.

I refer to the excessive use of close-ups whenever an individual player goes on a run, when a wide picture would give a far better appreciation of the state of play.

Two bad examples were the tries scored by the Australians. When it was important for the viewer to see the positioning of supporting players and of the defence, and therefore the options open to the attacking player, the director concentrated on a close-up camera which cut out all the other players. Filling the screen with a player who could just as well have been running alone in his back garden gives the viewer a very narrow and unhelpful perspective.

Rugby is a team game. The promotion of the personality above the team is setting a regrettable and dangerous trend.

Yours faithfully,
C. A. M. FORSYTH,
The Old Manor House,
Rectory Road,
Taplow Village,
Buckinghamshire.

Membership bid
From the Reverend John Kirby
Sir, Was Mrs Thatcher's address to the Lord Mayor's banquet (report, November 13) a bid to become a member of the MCC?

Yours faithfully,
JOHN KIRBY,
The Rectory,
Byfleet,
Surrey.

Sports Letters may be sent by fax to 071-782 5046. They should include a daytime telephone number.

What's in a name?
From Mr M. Gee
Sir, The organiser of the recent world rowing championships in Tasmania was Mr Brian Roe. Does this not leave the door wide open for, inter alia:

World table tennis: Ms Pong; hockey: Mr Stix; ski: Mr S. Lopez?

Yours faithfully,
M. GEE,
263 Earsfield Road, SW18.

Cup contest creates electric climate



Grandstand view: Allan, the Witton Albion manager, ponders over his side's chances of victory against Bolton

Witton's wait almost over

By WALTER GAMMIE

WITTON Albion head the HFS Loans League, with the prize of GM Vauxhall Conference football looming into view.

Yet it has needed the glamour and excitement of the FA Cup to light up a club all too used to playing second fiddle to their neighbours, Northwich Victoria.

"The atmosphere is electric," Stan Allan, the Witton manager, said. "It is 26 years since we got to the first round. Nobody can think about anything else; everything is about one game. On the day, it will be a full house."

The fact that Bolton Wanderers are Witton's opponents adds further allure. Allan said: "Bolton have won the Cup at Wembley four times. They are a team with a name; they bring a little bit of magic. I can remember it as not long ago that they won at Wembley: was it Nat Lofthouse's goals beating Manchester United?"

Indeed, it was in 1958 that Lofthouse scored both goals in a 2-0 triumph. It was probably



one of the most unpopular wins as the nation was willing Matt Busby's babes to victory three months after the Munich air crash.

Bolton's most recent Wembley success was of humbler vintage - 4-1 over Torquay United in the Sherpa Van Trophy final in 1989.

The 1990 Witton Albion are undoubtedly a new breed. They are in only their second season at their Wincham Park ground and the club boasts no fewer than six of last year's Colne Dynamos side, which won the HFS Loans League, were denied promotion and then folded in the summer.

"The old ground was a nice place but run down," Allan said. "We had gates of about 300. Now, we are getting gates of just under 1,000 and the club is going as good as any in non-League. We have the

facilities to get into the Conference."

Allan had signed Karl Thomas, a free-scoring forward, from Colne, and Joe Connor, from Hyde - both for £10,000 in close-season transfers. When Colne collapsed, five others - Steve McNeils, Andy Lee, Andy Grimshaw, Stuart Anderson and Stuart Mason - also joined.

The manager himself was in the Skelmersdale United side which won the Amateur Cup, and he shared in repeated flirtations with FA Cup glory over 14 years as player, coach and assistant manager with Altrincham before moving to Witton four years ago.

Progress has been steady and Ian Dobson, aged 41, who took over as club chairman in February, is determined to maintain it. A bus and coach operator, Dobson sold the main part of his business last November and is therefore free to devote time to the club.

His first task was to repair the damage done by gales, which had blown the roof off the stand for a second time, and sort out a pitch whose runs

made it near unplayable. A new surface complete with sprinkler system, was laid for £100,000 in the close season.

Dobson said: "We hope to go up there into the Conference. We'd get two good games and attendances playing against Northwich. That is something that would also apply to playing Altrincham, Runcorn and Macclesfield. They've always been the top teams in Cheshire and we intend to keep going forward. My aim is the Football League. We've got the facilities for it."

Saturday, however, should belong to the long-suffering supporters who have lived under the shadow of the Vics. Dobson said: "It's great for the supporters. They work side by side with the Northwich supporters. On a Monday morning, football is the topic of conversation. They are used to being gloated over."

"It is a good friendly rivalry but it is nice for the lads to get something to be proud about. After being the butt of so many jokes, they can get revenge."

SQUASH RACKETS

The stars who fell to earth

By COLIN MCQUILLAN

THE international star system which won the Fina's premier league championship for Leszek Wzard last season was this week directly responsible for a defeat which may come to be seen as cataclysmic by the end of the season.

Chris Robertson, of Australia, Mark Maclean, of Scotland and Jamie Hickox, of Canada, all of whom had just returned from the competitive and social demands of the world open championship in Toulouse, fell to the fresh but lower-ranked legs of Colin Keith, Simon Taylor and Geoff Williams in the match against Team Allsports in Manchester.

The Leskes Englishman, Peter Marshall, managed to salvage a point against Phil Whitlock, but the result converts a hopeful marginal Welsh lead into a potentially disastrous five-point deficit behind Carlisle Camons.

The London side earned six grimly professional points on wet-walled, slippery courts at North Walsham in what has looked to be the fixture of the season, with four present champions and two former champions present.

On a humid evening in Norfolk, with 300 spectators packed behind poorly ventilated courts and creating condensation, Chris Dimmar defeated Rodney Martin in a classic of the present Australian champions.

The British champion, Del Harris beat the European champion, Chris Walker, the former British champion, Paul Carter outlasted Tony Hands, and the junior world champion, Simon Parke overwhelmed Stephen Lankaster.

On the previous evening in Norfolk, with 300 spectators packed behind poorly ventilated courts and creating condensation, Chris Dimmar defeated Rodney Martin in a classic of the present Australian champions.

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RUGBY UNION

Richardson leads way to play-offs

By MICHAEL STEVENSON

Bradford Univ 3
Loughborough Univ 44

A STORMING game by Loughborough's talented (and fast) back three, well supported by Milward and Peters in a fine pack helped them to a comfortable victory at Bradford University by five goals, two tries and two penalties to a dropped goal.

Loughborough have won their three qualifying games in the UAU championship comfortably to earn a home tie in the play-off stage, which will probably be against Newcastle University. They played splendidly in bursts, then would go to sleep for a period, only to wake up and again play the most delightful rugby.

Loughborough went ahead when the home side killed a run and Malone, the Ireland under-21 stand-off, kicked the penalty. Pressure was maintained and from a tap penalty Peters put Loughborough in for the first try. Their next came from possibly the best move of the match. Johnson took Miles' pass on the blind side, Malone looped, and Dossett and Whitehead handed fluently to make a try for

Andrew leads London

at Moseley for a fortnight after being dropped, has joined Liverpool St Helens.

Although Silverstone holds the contract for staging the British grand prix until 1997, the possibility of more than one formula One race per season being sanctioned in this country before that date cannot be ruled out.

Mary Foulston, chairman of Brands Hatch Leisure plc, said: "It is one of my personal goals to retain Brands Hatch as one of the world's premier venues for motor racing."

However, any reconstruction work of this magnitude, should it be given the go-ahead, is unlikely to begin for at least two years.

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MOTOR RACING

Plans for new track at Brands

By JOHN BLUNDEN

WORK has begun on a multi-million pound development aimed at reinforcing Brands Hatch's status as an important international circuit.

The first phase, due to be completed next spring, is the construction of an administration block. Far-reaching plans are also in hand to upgrade the pit area, a necessary step if the circuit is to have a long-term future as a venue for big international events.

Consultants have been commissioned to report on the best way of providing the required facilities and have been given a free hand not only to submit proposals within constraints of the existing two circuits but also to offer more radical solutions that could involve substantial realignment of the race track.

Brands Hatch Circuits Limited owns substantial areas of land to the north of the existing motor-racing facility, some of which could be brought into use as part of a revised track if a serious bid is one day to be mounted for a return of Formula One racing to the Kent circuit.

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SEASON'S TREATS...
...SEASON'S MEETS

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MEMBER IS 1990
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Over
MOTOR RACING
Plans for
new trad
at Brand

Black Humour for Swift compensation

Likely implications for racing if Tory leadership changes

By MANDARIN (MICHAEL PHILLIPS)

BLACK Humour, whose fall at Market Rasen on Friday resulted in Peter Scudamore breaking a leg, makes a quick return to action today when contesting the Powerplay Promotions Handicap Hurdle under top weight at Towcester.

The Charlie Brooks-trained six-year-old will be ridden by Ben de Haan, who has himself just returned to action after recovering from injuries sustained while schooling.

Having nipped Black Humour at Market Rasen, I feel bound to give him the benefit of the doubt now, especially as he is reported to be in fine shape and none the worse for the incident.

It was too early to say whether he would have won last Friday because his fall occurred at the fifth flight. However, he did appear to be going well within himself at the time in fourth place.

Of greater significance was the fact that he was made favourite at 5-4 on to bring to an end the impressive sequence already run up by Ninefours.

As it turned out, by his own unbroken record that fell by the wayside.

Last season, Black Humour, who is a half brother to the former champion hurdler, Gaye Brief, looked a natural jumper when winning his only

term because his trainer, Gordon Richards, was simply not happy with him. Jim Thorpe is reported to be fine again now, though, and it is worth remembering that he was good enough to win the Future Champions Novices' Chase.

Aston Express, another decent chaser on his day, is also taken to make a good start to the season by winning the John Brown Memorial Trophy.

The best bet on the Scottish track, however, could easily be the course and distance winner, Bloehaven Flyer, who will be well ridden by Susan Mungray in the Caprington Amateur Riders' Handicap.

At Ayr, it will be interesting to see how that good chaser, Jim Thorpe, fares when he makes his comeback in the Metelleya Belle Challenge Cup. As he has won first time out for the last two seasons, it is unlikely to be a problem.

He missed the whole of last

McCourt on Celtic Shot

GRAHAM McCourt will replace the injured Peter Scudamore on Celtic Shot in the 1988 Champion Gold Cup at Newbury on Saturday, (Christopher Goulding writes).

There should be no problems with Graham taking the ride as he knows the horse well," Charlie Brooks, his

By RICHARD EVANS

A SUCCESSFUL challenge to Mrs Thatcher's leadership of the Conservative party could have far-reaching implications for racing, including the future management of the Horserace Totalisator Board.

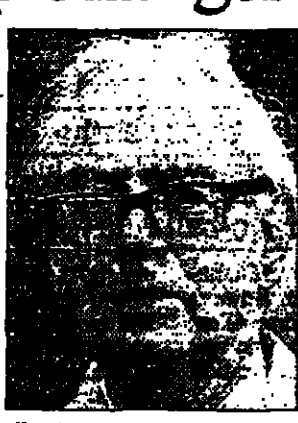
The chairmanship of the Tote, held by Lord Wyatt of Westport, aged 72, since 1976, comes up for renewal in April. If Mrs Thatcher remains in Downing Street it is virtually certain that Lord Wyatt, a close friend of the Prime Minister, will be reappointed for a further term of office - probably two or three years.

Michael Heseltine or another Tory would be the leadership choice, however, Lord Wyatt's chances of staying on will be reduced severely.

The Tote chairmanship is a Downing Street-approved appointment and it is known that Home Office officials, not for the first time, favour a change from Lord Wyatt.

With Mrs Thatcher no longer on hand to oversee such a new, younger chairman would almost certainly be appointed, although there is speculation in Whitehall that Lord Wyatt, already signed a "deed" guaranteeing him the job for two years.

A change in the Tote chairmanship would undoubtedly be welcomed by large sections of the racing industry, including the upper echelons of the Jockey Club. Despite Lord Wyatt's regular repeated assertions concerning his record as chairman, many leading racing



Lord Wyatt: close friend of the Prime Minister

figures believe the Tote is a sleeping giant which is not fulfilling its potential.

The defeat of Mrs Thatcher would also offer hope to the bloodstock industry which is severely worried about the repercussions of changes to Value Added Tax brought about by the advent of the Single European Market in 1993.

A 15 per cent V.A.T. rate on bloodstock transactions in Britain compared to 2.3 per cent in Ireland could destroy the horse industry as the main yearling sales would be transferred from Newmarket to across the Irish Sea.

Mrs Thatcher's insistence that there should be just two rates of V.A.T., 0 and 15 per cent, rather than various bands as favoured by the rest of Europe, has proved part of the difficulty facing breeders, auctioneers and bloodstock agents.

Late decision on Ascot favourite

JOHN Edwards will not decide until tomorrow morning whether to run his Mackeson Gold Cup winner, Mulrum in Parvo, in the H & T Walker Gold Cup at Ascot on Saturday (Paul Whelan writes).

Victor Williams, assistant to the Ross-on-Wye trainer, said at Kempton Park yesterday: "Mulrum in Parvo would have to carry a 4lb penalty at Ascot but in future handicaps he has gone up 10lb. The view of that is tempting to run."

Corals make Mulrum in Parvo their 7-2 favourite

Boxing Day Trial Chase, on Assagai for Henrietta Knight. Osborne completed his double on Cornwall Prince for Neville Callaghan in the Junior Novices' Hurdle, replacing Declan Murphy.

Alydar breaks leg

Alydar, the leading sire in the United States, was fighting for his life last night after being found with a broken leg in his box at Calumet Farm in Lexington, Kentucky.

TOWCESTER

Selections

By Mandarin

1.0 Andreoli. 1.30 Bit Of A Clown. 2.0 Royal Cracker. 2.30 BLACK HUMOUR (nap). 3.0 Breeze Motors. 3.30 Bounded Duty.

By Michael Seely

2.30 BLACK HUMOUR (nap). 3.30 Bounded Duty.

Going: good SIS

1.0 FILGRAVE NOVICES HURDLE (€1,000: 2m) (18 runners)

1. ANDREOLI TOP 10 (P) J. P. Jones 10-10. 2. ANDREOLI TOP 10 (P) J. P. Jones 10-10. 3. ANDREOLI TOP 10 (P) J. P. Jones 10-10. 4. ANDREOLI TOP 10 (P) J. P. Jones 10-10. 5. ANDREOLI TOP 10 (P) J. P. Jones 10-10. 6. ANDREOLI TOP 10 (P) J. P. Jones 10-10. 7. ANDREOLI TOP 10 (P) J. P. Jones 10-10. 8. ANDREOLI TOP 10 (P) J. P. Jones 10-10. 9. ANDREOLI TOP 10 (P) J. P. Jones 10-10. 10. ANDREOLI TOP 10 (P) J. P. Jones 10-10. 11. ANDREOLI TOP 10 (P) J. P. Jones 10-10. 12. ANDREOLI TOP 10 (P) J. P. Jones 10-10. 13. ANDREOLI TOP 10 (P) J. P. Jones 10-10. 14. ANDREOLI TOP 10 (P) J. P. Jones 10-10. 15. ANDREOLI TOP 10 (P) J. P. Jones 10-10. 16. ANDREOLI TOP 10 (P) J. P. Jones 10-10. 17. ANDREOLI TOP 10 (P) J. P. Jones 10-10. 18. ANDREOLI TOP 10 (P) J. P. Jones 10-10.

Guide to our in-line racecard

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By Mandarin

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Taylor's old boy rescues the Irish

Baker tells staff to avoid 'impression of neutrality' in battle

By NICHOLAS WOOD, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

KENNETH Baker, the Conservative party chairman, has told his 150 staff that they must not create "an impression of neutrality" in the battle for the Tory leadership.

However, Mr Baker has also made clear that he does not want his staff interfering in the leadership election or disparaging Michael Heseltine's attempt to unseat Margaret Thatcher.

Brendan Bruce, the director of communications at Conservative Central Office, has issued separate rules to the party's press office designed to ensure impartiality in the release of material to the media.

Mr Baker's injunction to his staff was set out in a confidential memorandum sent to them yesterday. It says: "Under no circumstances, will anyone here disparage those

opposing the prime minister's leadership... But we must not create the impression of neutrality. We are the office of the leader of the party and support her unreservedly... It is not appropriate for Conservative Central Office to seek to interfere in the parliamentary party exercising its responsibilities."

Mr Bruce explained that just as 10 Downing Street was the office of the prime minister, central office was the office of the leader of the party, any leader of the party. "So obviously her own office supports her."

Mr Bruce said that he had also issued strict rules to his staff about what material the central office press department could release from the close of nominations yesterday until the declaration of the first ballot of the leader-

ship election on Tuesday night.

The disclosures about Mr Baker's advice to staff came after Tory right-wingers failed to oust two incumbent officers of the 18-strong executive of the 1922 committee.

Although no direct parallels can be drawn with the leadership election, the result is likely to reassure Mr Heseltine's supporters.

Dame Jill Knight, the right-wing Conservative MP for Edgbaston, failed in her attempt to oust Sir Geoffrey Johnson Smith as a vice chairman of the committee.

However the result was close. Sir Geoffrey was returned after a recount.

Robert Dunn, another right-winger, failed to unseat Sir Giles Shaw as treasurer of the 1922 committee. At a meeting last night of the full 1922 committee, Cranley Onslow told MPs of the arrangements for next Tuesday's ballot which will be held between 11am and 6pm in committee room 12 at Westminster. The result is expected within about half an hour of the end of polling.

Mr Onslow won support from MPs when he said that he hoped that once the contest was over the party would stand together in seeking to defeat the Labour party.

Sharing power, page 16
Diary, page 16
Leading article, page 17
Letters, page 17
Mrs Heseltine, page 20

Call for rule change

MICHAEL Heseltine's challenge to Mrs Thatcher could be the last to a sitting Tory prime minister (Philip Webster writes). Senior party figures are pressing for rule changes which would allow challenges to the leader only while the party is in opposition.

Members of the executive of the 1922 committee believe that the contests last year and this have been damaging to party morale.

They have argued privately that a prime minister, having been elected by the people, should be turned out only by

the electorate at a general election.

Cranley Onslow, chairman of the 1922 committee, said yesterday: "After this contest is over we might well look at it again to see whether the rules are suitable. I can't say what the outcome will be."

A similar review after last year's challenge by Sir Anthony Meyer resulted in proposals and secondors having to identify themselves publicly for the first time. It was thought that this might prevent "stalking horse" challengers from standing.

Voting against policies, not personalities

Peter Davenport reports on the effect a change of Tory leadership might have had in the recent Bradford by-election



Smiles before tears: Joy Atkin and Kenneth Baker, the Tory party chairman, on last week's campaign trail

IN THE by-election campaign for Bradford North few of the candidates could resist the lure of a photo-opportunity in the picturesque baulet of Esbott, which doubles as Beckindale in the television soap opera *Emmerdale Farm*.

The programme is watched by millions of viewers and each year 300,000 of them travel to the village on the creaky edge of a constituency that starts in the heart of the inner city.

In the case of Joy Atkin, the Conservative candidate, who was born in Bradford but works in Oxfordshire, it was always going to require more than a photograph outside the Commercial Inn, The Woolpack in the series, to increase her chances. But would Michael Heseltine at the helm have helped?

The feeling among villagers yesterday was that the Conservatives' poor result, coming in third behind the Liberal Democrats and 9,514 votes behind the Labour victor, who secured a swing of 16 per cent, would not have been improved had there been a different leader.

Bryan Hirst, the Commercial landlord for 12 years, said yesterday: "It's always dangerous ground for a politician to talk politics but I don't believe Mr Heseltine would have made a difference. I think Mrs Thatcher herself was a factor in the voting. It may have been what made the party come third rather than second, but

in the main it was policies and not personalities that decided the issue for people."

At just about the time Mr Heseltine's nomination was being formally lodged, the day's first tourists were waiting for refreshments at the Ashwood tea rooms and gallery. The man behind the counter, who preferred personal and political anonymity, said he did not believe the Conservatives would have done any better with Mr Heseltine than Margaret Thatcher. He did acknowl-

edge, though, that the poll tax was the main grievance - something Mr Heseltine has pledged to reform.

Throughout the by-election campaign Miss Atkin had professed unflinching loyalty to the prime minister and yesterday Valerie Biney, the local Conservative agent, insisted that Mrs Thatcher's personal qualities and leadership style had not been a major factor on the doorstep.

"I don't think that had Michael Heseltine been lead-

er it would have made any significant effect. However, our people are upset that he is challenging the prime minister at this time and they are ringing up to say so."

"One woman rang to say that she had voted for Mrs Thatcher as prime minister at the general election and not Mr Heseltine and that if he brought her down he would have got the office on a false premise."

"Although people recognise he has a lot of good qualities, there are many

who are saying that what he is doing is dreadful, awful, and it should not be done to the prime minister at this time."

She said that many Conservative voters, aware they were not going to win the seat, simply stayed at home and that a mixture of disenchantment and lack of motivation kept the party turnout down to about 30 per cent. High interest rates and the poll tax, which is £276 per head in the constituency, were the major issues.

European press forsake cricket for the jungle

By ALICE THOMSON

ALTHOUGH still somewhat bemused by the cricketing metaphors of Sir Geoffrey Howe's resignation speech, the European press has reacted quickly to Michael Heseltine's decision to stand against Margaret Thatcher.

Professors of Mr Heseltine abound and are littered with Tarzan imagery. Newspapers are wary of any outright favouritism but many newspapers believe that the time may have come for Mrs Thatcher to stand down.

Whatever the result of the vote next week Mrs Thatcher's days are numbered, according to the German press. Under the heading, "Tarzan's coming," the *Frankfurter Rundschau* said: "Whether or not Michael Heseltine can convert the shrinking of party loyalties into an election victory is uncertain. What is certain is that Mrs Thatcher will not escape unharmed from the confrontation with Tarzan

and that more and more of her former followers are getting used to the thought of living without her."

Helmut Kohl's favourite newspaper, the Munich *Deutsche Zeitung*, said: "Sir Geoffrey rang in the beginning of the end," and the Bonn paper *General Anzeiger* said: "She was hit below the waterline. The only thing we still don't know is when the boat will start sinking."

Mr Heseltine's political philosophy was scrutinised at length in the economic paper *Handelsblatt* and his stance on Europe was commended. "He believes that Great Britain is firmly embedded in Europe and does not hang on to the illusion of a special trans-Atlantic relationship."

In Spain the leadership debate has become feverish and there is no coherent editorial line. *El Mundo* favours Sir Geoffrey Howe as the man designated to topple Mrs Thatcher. According to

Diario 16, the liberal Madrid daily, Norman Tebbit and John Major may try their luck if the challenge goes into a second round and many London correspondents favour Douglas Hurd.

In one story headlined "The presentation of a new candidate marks the end of a period which stinks of disaster," the independent leftist *EL Pais* said that nothing had gone right for Mrs Thatcher in the last year and her popularity had plummeted. "Many MPs fear for their future and in the present every-man-for-himself atmosphere, there are many who want to make Mrs Thatcher pay for wounds of the past."

The Norwegian Labour party newspaper *Arbeiderbladet* notes that Mr Heseltine is a millionaire but adds approvingly: "He has a far more positive attitude to the role of the state than Thatcher and is much more critical of the so-called market."

Unionists change tactics but bitter fight goes on

FIVE years ago this week when Margaret Thatcher and Garret FitzGerald signed the Anglo-Irish Agreement, the unionist community of Northern Ireland suffered its greatest single set-back since the beginning of the troubles.

The agreement was seen then as an act of gross betrayal by Britain. It was a deal negotiated secretly without consultation with representatives of the majority community in Northern Ireland and, worst of all, it appeared to articulate for the first time unionists' deepest fear, that Britain would some day allow Northern Ireland to slip gently away from the United Kingdom.

It is difficult to convey the insecurity which informs unionist thinking on the agreement. For unionists the troubles are all about nationality and, increasingly, the fear that in spite of their innate Britishness, they remain unwanted by the parent nation and ultimately will be rejected.

In the years since the agreement was signed the most visible element of unionist opposition to it has all but disappeared. The mass demonstrations on the streets of Belfast addressed by Ian Paisley are long gone, and recent attempts to revive them suggest that apathy has set in.

This has led some observers, particularly in the Northern Ireland Office, to conclude that unionists have slowly begun to accept the agreement, to see its benefits in improved Anglo-Irish relations generally, and in cross-border economic and security co-operation. They might believe, as Mrs Thatcher has claimed, that far from jeopardising the territorial integrity

of the United Kingdom, the agreement enhances Northern Ireland's status within it and guarantees it, because it makes it explicit.

But unionist determination to get rid of the "dikas" is probably as strong now as it ever was. It was the single-minded pursuit of that objective, for example, which determined the tactics of the two unionist parties in the so-called Brooke initiative. Part of the reason for the apparent breakdown of that process was that while nationalists were approaching inter-party talks with the intention of enhancing their gains made under the agreement, unionists saw the process as a chance to destroy it once and for all.

Among the leading opponents of the agreement is Chris McGimpsey, an east Belfast property developer who, with his brother Michael, a builder, unsuccessfully challenged the validity of the treaty in the Irish Supreme Court earlier this year on the grounds that it was incompatible with the Republic's constitution.

Their case, which is now going to the European Court of Human Rights, produced a landmark judgment by the court which found that articles 2 and 3 of the Irish consti-

tion enshrining Ireland's territorial claim to Northern Ireland represented not merely an aspiration but a constitutional imperative.

Dr McGimpsey believes that his campaign and that of unionists generally must eventually convince the government of the folly of entering into a treaty with a foreign power committed to the destruction of a part of the United Kingdom. He also vigorously resists the suggestion that unionism has lost its stomach for the fight against the treaty. "Opposition to the Anglo-Irish agreement has sunk to the level of an assumption. It is not articulated so much as it used to be and doesn't need to be. If you are not opposed to it, you are not a unionist."

Dr McGimpsey is a member of the Ulster Unionist party executive and may well run for Westminster at the next election. He is regarded as a moderate, liberal-minded spokesman of the soft left fringe of the party who recognises that some form of power sharing in a devolved administration is probably the only way forward for Northern Ireland. But he is determined that no internal settlement of this kind can be contemplated in Belfast until the element of "interference" in Northern Ireland's internal affairs incorporated into the agreement is scrapped.

He claims that the treaty has failed in every major respect. "When it was signed, we were promised peace, stability and reconciliation," he said. "There is now less peace than there was prior to 1985, the situation is more unstable and there is less reconciliation - so it has delivered nothing."

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